

Studies on the Gilaki language

Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia
Corso di laurea magistrale in Lingue e civiltà orientali
Cattedra di Filologia iranica

Candidato
Ramin Hassanzadeh-Nodehi
Matricola 1604822

Relatore
Mauro Maggi

Correlatore
Paola Orsatti

*Dedicated to the dear memory
of my grandmother Mohtaram Nowruzi (1943-2017)*

Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Foreword | 9 |
| Abbreviations | 12 |
| Introduction | 13 |
| Fumanāt dialects and their linguistic position | 15 |
| Western vs. Eastern Gilaki | 19 |
| Phonological differences | 19 |
| Grammatical differences | 19 |
| Present tense | 19 |
| Imperfect | 20 |
| Progressive patterns in WGil. | 20 |
| Form 1a: present progressive tense | 20 |
| Form 1b: past progressive tense | 21 |
| Form 2a: present progressive tense | 21 |
| Form 2b: past progressive tense | 22 |
| Form 3a: present progressive tense | 22 |
| Form 3b: past progressive tense | 22 |
| Progressive patterns in EGil. | 23 |
| Form 4a: present progressive tense | 23 |
| Form 4b: past progressive tense | 23 |
| Future tense | 25 |
| Lexical differences | 26 |
| Loanwords in Gilaki | 26 |
| Russian loanwords in Gilaki | 26 |
| Persian loanwords in Gilaki | 28 |
| Historical phonology of Gilaki | 30 |
| Phonemes of Proto-Iranian | 30 |
| Phonemes of Gilaki | 31 |
| Historical correspondences | 31 |

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| Vowels | 31 |
| § 1 Gilaki /i/ | 33 |
| § 2 Gilaki /e/ | 35 |
| § 3 Gilaki /a ₁ / | 37 |
| § 4 Gilaki /a ₂ / | 38 |
| § 5 Gilaki /ə/ | 39 |
| § 6 Gilaki /u/ | 41 |
| § 7 Gilaki /o/ | 42 |
| Consonants | 44 |
| § 8 Gilaki /p/ | 44 |
| § 9 Gilaki /t/ | 44 |
| § 10 Gilaki /k/ | 45 |
| § 11 Gilaki /b/ | 46 |
| § 12 Gilaki /d/ | 48 |
| § 13 Gilaki /g/ | 49 |
| § 14 Gilaki /č/ | 50 |
| § 15 Gilaki /j/ | 51 |
| § 16 Gilaki /f/ | 52 |
| § 17 Gilaki /s/ | 53 |
| § 18 Gilaki /š/ | 54 |
| § 19 Gilaki /x/ | 56 |
| § 20 Gilaki /h/ | 57 |
| § 21 Gilaki /v/ | 59 |
| § 22 Gilaki /z/ | 60 |
| § 23 Gilaki /ž/ | 61 |
| § 24 Gilaki /y/ | 61 |
| § 25 Gilaki /γ/ | 62 |
| § 26 Gilaki /m/ | 63 |
| § 27 Gilaki /n/ | 63 |
| § 28 Gilaki /r/ | 64 |

| | |
|---|----|
| § 29 Gilaki /l/ | 65 |
| From Proto-Iranian to Gilaki | 66 |
| § 30 Summary of phonological changes | 66 |
| § 31 Consonant clusters | 67 |
| Other phonological changes | 67 |
| § 32 Metathesis | 67 |
| § 33 Loss of initial *a | 67 |
| § 34 Loss of initial *h | 68 |
| § 35 Prosthetic and anaptyctic vowels | 68 |
| § 36 Loss of final unstressed vowels | 69 |
| § 37 Treatment of -ka- | 69 |
| § 38 Loss of final consonants | 70 |
| § 39 Internal loss of sounds and contractions | 71 |
| § 40 Univerbation | 73 |
| § 41 Assimilation of vowels | 73 |
| § 42 Assimilation of consonants | 74 |
| § 43 Dissimilation of consonants | 74 |
| Texts: transcription | 75 |
| Text 1: [Zanxazi] | 75 |
| Text 2: [Saxtə zindigi] | 75 |
| Text 3: [Səfər bə Mašad] | 75 |
| Text 4: [Aid] | 76 |
| Text 5: [Xando] | 76 |
| Texts: translation | 77 |
| Text 1: [Marriage proposal] | 77 |
| Text 2: [Hard life] | 78 |
| Text 3: [Trip to Mašhad] | 78 |
| Text 4: [New Year] | 78 |
| Text 5: [Laugh] | 79 |
| Texts: interlinear analysis | 80 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Text 1: [<i>Zanxazi</i> “Marriage proposal”] | 81 |
| Text 2: [<i>Saxtə zindigi</i> “Hard life”] | 89 |
| Text 3: [<i>Səfər bə Mašad</i> “Trip to Mašhad”] | 93 |
| Text 4: [<i>Aid</i> “New Year”] | 98 |
| Text 5: [<i>Xando</i> “Laugh”] | 106 |
| Sketch of Gilaki grammar | 113 |
| Glossary | 169 |
| Bibliography | 180 |

Foreword

The present thesis contains studies on the Gilaki language and is divided into two major parts. The first part focuses on historical phonology of Gilaki and tries to throw some new light on the linguistic history of Gilaki. The main pattern of this chapter is based on the relevant sections in V. S. Rastorgueva and D. I. Èdel'man's work from 1982 on the Caspian languages. However, I have added, eliminated and modified some parts according to my linguistic knowledge of Gilaki.

The second part of the thesis is based on linguistic data collected in April 2017 in the small village of Nowdeh Pasixān, which is located the north of Šaft. The informant, Mohtaram Nowruzi, was asked to speak freely without any limitation. She was monolingual (Gilaki) and was not able to speak in Persian. The texts already formed the main subject of my BA thesis. For the present study, first I thoroughly revised their transcription and translation and then carried out their in-depth linguistic analysis making full use of the FieldWorks Language Explorer (FLEx) program suite.

This work owes a lot to many people. First of all, I would like to thank my parents and my dear friends Stephanie, Daniel, Robert and Andrew for supporting me spiritually throughout the writing of this thesis.

My sincere thanks also go to Paola Orsatti, professor of Persian language and literature, for her insightful comments and encouragement, as well as for her subtle questions which urged me to widen my research from various perspectives.

A number of people helped me making my university education a reality. Their generous donations helped me to accomplish my goals of obtaining a MA degree at La Sapienza University. These donations gave me the possibility to focus on my coursework with little concern for finances. Knowing that someone else cared about my education motivated me to strive for excellence and inspires me to keep working hard and eventually to give something back by helping future students in turn. So, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to several anonymous donors from the Iranian diaspora in Berlin. Also, my supervisor Mauro Maggi, whose office door was always open and who answered all my questions with patience, motivation and knowl-

edge, also assisted me through the crowdfunding campaign “Voices from Gilan” on Produzioni dal basso¹: my heartfelt thanks go to him and to all those who contributed generously to his initiative:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Matteo Arena | Armida Lingerio |
| Gerardo Barbera | Silvia Luzzietti |
| David Barnes | Luisella Maggi |
| Lydia Barnes | Cristiana Martinelli |
| Gian Pietro Basello | Manuela Pagano |
| Sergio Basso | Bruna Pantellini |
| Anna Livia Beelaert | Ludwig Paul |
| Alberto Camplani | Cristina Pecchia |
| Mario Casari | Massimo Pettiti |
| Matteo Comparetti | Silvio Previtera |
| Marcella Cirrincione | Sadaf Sadeghian |
| Ghazzal Dabiri | Alessandro Saggioro |
| Cecilia D’Amato | Eugenio Sampietro |
| Alessandro Del Tomba | Maria Elena Sampietro |
| Daniela Dolce | Cristina Scherrer-Schaub |
| Federico Dragoni | Serena Scionti |
| Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst | Nicholas Sims-Williams |
| Mansoor Farahpoor | Telefono Donna di Como |
| Martin Haspelmath | Angelo Tettamanti |
| Almut Hintze | Laura Tettamanti |
| Judith Josephson | Luisa Tettamanti |
| Agnes Korn | Bahman Tohidi |
| Maria Cristina Lavazza | Henk van der Wal |
| Foroogh Leivo | Francesco Zappa |
| Veli-Pekka Leivo | Ida Zatelli |
| Arianna Liberatore | and a few other anonymous donors. |

¹ <https://www.produzionidalbasso.com/project/voices-from-gilan-support-for-ramin-and-his-master-thesis-on-iranian-dialectology-in-rome> (accessed on 27 December 2019).

Last but not least, Cormac Anderson and Paul Heggarty of the Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History in Jena took their cue from the aforementioned crowdfunding campaign and offered me a contract as a visiting researcher for a joint research currently in progress.

Ramin Hassanzadeh-Nodehi

Rome, 27 December 2019

Abbreviations

| | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| Ar. | Arabic | NWIr. | North Western Iranian |
| Av. | Avestan | NWGil. | North Western Gilaki |
| ClP | Classic Persian | OAv. | Old Avestan |
| CTāl. | Central Tālyši | OGil. | Old Gilaki |
| CTāt. | Central Tātic | OInd. | Old Indian |
| EGil. | Eastern Gilaki | OIr | Old Iranian |
| Fum. | Fumanāti | OP | Old Persian |
| Gil. | Gilaki | Parth. | Parthian |
| Ir. | Iranian | prs. | present |
| ManMP | Manichean Middle Persian | pst. | past |
| Med. | Median | pst. ptcp. | past participle |
| MIr. | Middle Iranian | Russ. | Russian |
| MP | Middle Persian | STāl. | Southern Tālyši |
| NP | New Persian | SWIr. | South Western Iranian |
| NTāl. | Northern Tālyši | WGil. | Western Gilaki |
| NTāt. | Northern Tātic | | |

Introduction

Gilān Province covers an area of 14.042 square kilometers and is located between $36^{\circ} 34'$ and $38^{\circ} 27'$ latitude and $48^{\circ} 52'$ and $50^{\circ} 34'$ longitude. It is one of the provinces adjoining the south-western coast of the Caspian sea, the northern slopes of the Alborz mountains and the western and eastern slopes of the Tālyš mountains.

The province borders the Republic of Azerbaijan in the north, Ardabil in the west, Qazvin in south and Mazandaran in the east.

It has a mild climate and a strategic position, in that it is linked with the newly independent countries of the former Soviet Union either by land or by sea. In addition, the province has a geographical proximity to the political center of the country in comparison to many other of the provinces of Iran.

According to the administrative division, Gilān's cities and counties are: Rašt, Bandar-e Anzali, Fuman, Šaft, Ŝowme'e Sarā, Āstāne Ašrafiye, Lāhičān, Langarud, Rudsar, Haštpar, Režvānšahr, Āstārā, Xomām, Manjil, Siāhkāl, Māsāl and Amlaš.



Administrative map of Gilān

Gilān is known as a province where two separate ethnic groups have lived for a long period: the Gilaks and the Tālyšes. These are two ethnic groups with different customs and religions, as well as different languages and folk arts. There are also other

ethnic and linguistic populations such as Turks, Tātis and Kurds. However, the vast majority of the inhabitants speak Gilaki. The term *Gil-a mard* “man of Gilān” refers to a group of Gilaki speakers who are living in the plain areas of the province (Bromberger 2010).

Conventionally, Gilaki falls into two main varieties: WGil. (Rašt, Fuman, Šaft, Bandar-e Anzali) and Eastern Gilaki (Lāhičān, Langerud)². The mutual intelligibility of these two varieties is relatively low, as one moves from Fuman toward Langerud and Rudsar. Donald Stilo (2015: 425) explains the division of WGil. and EGil. as follows:

As Proto-Caspian entered the seacoast and spread both westwards and eastwards from the central Caspian area, the group progressing westwards that would eventually become the various dialects of Gilaki most likely encountered a Tatic language (early Tālyshi? a form of Tati? pre-Rudbari?) that was already established in the coastal areas of Gilān to the west of Sefidrud. Hence the dialects of Gilaki east of Sefidrud share certain linguistic features with all Caspian languages to the east extending even as far as Gorgan, but not with Western Gilaki. The latter dialect cluster, however, share other features with Southern Tālyshi, Rudbāri dialects (which I classify as “Tatoid”) as the local forms of Central Tati.

He states also:

In the process of language shift from their original Tatic speech to a Caspian language (pre-Gilaki) west of the Sefidrud, the tatic substratum left its imprint on the incoming Caspian speech form, i.e., the eventual Western Gilaki, thus distinguishing it from Eastern Gilaki.

2 A major river in Gilān, the Sefid-rud (lit. “white river”), divides the Gilān plateau into two main regions: the *biyə pas* (the lands to the west of the river) and the *biyə piš* (to the east of the river).

Fumanāt dialects and their linguistic position

Generally speaking, Fumanāt refers to Fuman, Šaft, Māsāl and, Sowme‘e Sarā and probably some parts of Rašt. Fumanāt remained the capital region of Gilān until 980/1542. It fell into decay when Jamšid Sultan, the ruler of Fumanāt, decided to transfer his capital from Fuman to Rašt.

At the beginning of Nāsir al-Dīn Šāh Qājār’s reign (1848-1896), Hājī Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Fumanāt, moved to Rašt and, as a result Fuman began to decline. At that time, Fuman was no more than a village with only 140 houses around the palace of the khan (Bazin 2001: 228).

Sowme‘e Sarā and Šaft became independent from Fumanāt in 1959 and 1995 respectively and, from then on, the county name Fumanāt changed to Fuman.

Fuman gained its importance since the middle of 20th century and became the commercial and cultural center of Gilān. A large tea factory made this city one of the most important producer of tea in Gilān (Bazin 2001: 228).

I propose three branches for WGil.: 1) Fumanāt variety: Fuman, Sowme‘e Sarā, Šaft; 2) North-Western Gilaki: Rašt, Xomām, Bandar-e Anzali; 3) Transitional variety (between Fumanāt regions and Rašt): Pasixān, Xašt-e Masjed, Ahmad Gurāb, ‘Eynak. Linguistically, the Fumanāt variety forms a spectrum-like dialect chain from Sowme‘e Sarā to Fuman and Šaft. It shares some linguistic features with STāl. Particularly, Fuman and Šaft are unique in this aspect, because half of the inhabitants of these two cities are bilingual (Tālyši, Gilaki)³.

Stilo describes the language contact of STāl. and WGil. as follows (2015: 422):

In addition to common inherited genetic features that unite Southern Tālyshi and Central Tāti, both these groups also share commonalities that result from the diffusion of many Gilaki features into the neighboring areas but not

³ I am carrying out a separate research on language contact between Fum. and STāl. The preliminary observations show that there exists a mixed variety of Fum. and STāl. This variety is used when Tālyši or Gilaki speakers intend to communicate with each other in the market or other commercial situations.

far beyond, that is, some features extend only to southern Tālyshi, and others to Central Tālyshi.

The shared features of WGil. and STāl. are listed in the following:

- (1) Lack of a tense-aspect-mood marker in the present tense (\emptyset Present marker, i.e. no prefix *mi-* or *a-*), which Stilo (2018: 716) explains as follows:

The \emptyset Present marker forms a small isogloss with languages of four groups: Western Gilaki, Southern Talyshi, Central Tati, and Rudbāri (Tatoid). It is one of the main features distinguishing Western Gilaki from Eastern Gilaki.

WGil. (Rašt) *danəm* “I know”;

STāl. (Māsuleh) *zanəm* “id.”.

The \emptyset present marker occurs also in Rudbāri and CTāt. (Stilo 2018: 717):

CTāt. (Koluri) *zanəm* “id.”;

Rudbāri *donəm* “id.”.

- (2) A suffixed *-i* or *-æy* (CTāt.) (Stilo 2018: 730) in the imperfect tense: this feature is shared by WGil., CTāt., STāl and CTāl.:

Fum. (Fuman) *xordim* (< *-i-im*) “we were eating”;

NWGiL. (Rašt) *gufti* (< *-i-i*) “you (2 sg) were saying”;

CTāt. (Dizi) *xærd-ey-m-e* “I was eating” (Stilo 2018: 730);

CTāl. (Asālemi) *aš-i-m* “I used to go” (Yarshater 1996: 100);

STāl. (Fuman) *avrīj-i-mun* “we used to run”.

- (3) The particle *kara* (< *kār* “work, doing”, Windfuhr 1989: 256) is used in WGil., STāl., CTāl. and Tāti (Kajali, Dəravi) to demonstrate present or past continuous:

Kajali:

kāri nəši “I am sitting”;

kāri mə-ništ-im “I was sitting” (Sabzalipour 1391: 48-65);

Dəravi:

kərā nəši “I am sitting”;

kərā nəšim “I was sitting” (Sabzalipour 1391: 48-65);

Eştehārdi:

mi-vaz-āy-šin kā/ār-dar-āy “you (pl.) are running” (Windfuhr 2012: 654);

Kelāsi:

kæræ me-xos-ám “I am sleeping” (Stilo 2018: 736);

CTāl. (Paresari):

kār-imə nəštə “I am siiting”;

kā(r) b-im nəštə “I was sitting” (Sabzalipour 1391: 162);

STāl.:

kəra niš-əm “I am sitting”;

kəra niš-im “I was sitting” (Sabzalipour 1391: 162);

kərə xəs-Ø-ám “I am sleeping” (Stilo 2018: 736);

Fum. (Fuman, Šaft):

karə nišinəm, karə ništan darəm “I am sitting”;

karə ništan dubom “I was sitting”.

Stilo (2015: 423) mentions that the diffusion of the particle *karə* is not so clear:

It is not a foregone conclusion that all influences and diffusion have come from Gilaki to Tālyshi and Tāti. In many cases, the origins of the Gilaki features themselves are simply not known, such as, for example (among many others) whether the use of “*karə*” to form the progressive tenses in Gilaki appeared in Gilaki first and spread from there or whether it is the effect of some type of diffusion to Gilaki from outside, and if so, from which direction it spread.

(4) The common isoglosses between WGil. (Fum., NWGIL.) and STāl. (Māsuleh, Siyahmazgi, Emāmzāde Ebrāhim) are reported as a result of language contact:

| Fum. | NWGIL. | STāl. | CTāl. | NTāl. | |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|--------|
| <i>pillə</i> | <i>pillə</i> | <i>pillə</i> | <i>yol</i> | <i>yol</i> | “big” |
| <i>moryanə</i> | <i>moryane</i> | <i>moryane</i> | <i>uva</i> | <i>üve</i> | “egg” |
| <i>xaš</i> | <i>xaš</i> | <i>xaš</i> | <i>asta</i> | <i>asta</i> | “bone” |
| <i>gozga</i> | <i>gozga</i> | <i>gozga</i> | <i>vərzag</i> | <i>vərzag</i> | “frog” |

| | | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|--------------|------------|------------|------------|
| <i>ajik</i> | <i>ajik</i> | <i>ājik</i> | — | — | “tapeworm” |
| <i>garzag</i> | <i>garzə</i> | <i>girze</i> | <i>muz</i> | <i>muz</i> | “bee” |

There are also some phonological and grammatical features which distinguish Fum. from NWGil.:

(1) The existence of the allophones [ö], [ü]:

NWGil. *so* “light” = Fum. *sö*;

NWGil. *tüł* “muddy” = Fum. *tüł*.

(2) In some cases, /h/ between vowels changes to /x/ in Fum.:

NWGil. *fadaħən* “to give” = Fum. *fadaxən*;

NWGil. *bobohən* “to become” = Fum. *boboxən*;

NWGil. *aždaha* “dragon” = Fum. *aždaxa*.

(3) The consonant cluster /ft/ is preserved in Rašt in the middle of a word, but is replaced by /st/ in Šaft and then assimilated to /ss/ in Fuman:

(Rašt) *eškaftən* “to break”, (Šaft) *eškastən*, (Fuman) *eškassən*.

(4) In some rare cases, the /x/ in NWGil. changed to /xʷ/ in Fum. (Resāyi 1385: 68):

NWGil. *xali* “plum” = Fum. *xʷali*;

NWGil. *xotka* “a local bird” = Fum. *xʷetka*.

(5) The unexpected ending of *-i/əš(ə)* appears in second singular person of transitive and intransitive verbs of the perfect and imperfect tenses:

NWGil. *buxurdi* “you ate (2 sg.)” = Fum. (Fuman) *buxordišə*;

NWGil. *xordi* “you were eating (2 sg.)” = Fum. (Gaskar, Ziābar, Bāzār-e Jom‘e) *xordiš*, *xordišə* “you were eating”.

The element is also reported in the second singular person in Ziābar and Gaskar (Purhādi 1397: 103).

An ending *-əš* occurs also in Karegāni and Šahrudi (Henning 1954:163), STāl. and CTāl. (Paul 2011: 112). It is also reported in some SWIr. dialects like Lārestāni (Mowlāyi 1395: 55).

Western vs. Eastern Gilaki

Phonological differences

(1) Medial /g/ is sometimes lost in EGil., but not in WGil.:

WGil. *fagiftən* “to take, hold” = EGil. *hagitən* (Geiger 1898-1901: 349; Stilo 2001: 660);

WGil. *buguftən* “to say” = EGil. *butən* (Geiger 1898-1901: 354).

(2) an original /a/ before a nasal is raised to /o/ (Stilo 2001: 667; Purhadi 1397: 47):

WGil. *danən* “to know” = EGil. *donən*;

WGil. *xanən* “to read” = EGil. *xonən*.

(3) EGil. preserves /γ/ in the final position of some words (Purhādi 1397: 47):

WGil. *ra* “street” = EGil. *ray*;

WGil. *ča* “well” = EGil. *čay*.

(4) consonant clusters /ft/ and /xt/ in WGil. change to /t/ in EGil.:

WGil. *buguftən* “to say” = EGil. *butən*;

WGil. *fagiftən* “to take, hold” = EGil. *hagitən*;

WGil. *doxtən* “to sew” = EGil. *dotən*;

WGil. *poxtən* “to cook” = EGil. *potən* (Geiger 1898-1901: 349; Stilo 2001: 660).

Grammatical differences

Present tense

WGil. has a Ø marker for the present tense, as mentioned above, while EGil. uses a -*Vn*- suffix. Stilo (2018: 716) explains the Caspian present formant -(*V*)*n*- as follows:

The Caspian Present formant (*V*)*n* (lacking in W. Gilaki), is traditionally derived from an old present participle through phonetic reduction: **ant* > *Vn* (*V*)*n(n)*. In Lāhijāni *ən* occurs after roots ending in most consonants, but *n*

after a vowel. After a root-final *n*-, the Present marker is lost; after *r*, the latter is lost and *-n*- retained.

WGIL. *šən*, EGIL. *šun* “to go”

| WGIL. | EGIL. |
|------------|--------------|
| <i>šəm</i> | <i>šunəm</i> |
| <i>ši</i> | <i>šuni</i> |
| <i>šə</i> | <i>šune</i> |
| <i>šim</i> | <i>šunim</i> |
| <i>šid</i> | <i>šunin</i> |
| <i>šən</i> | <i>šunən</i> |

Imperfect

The general pattern of imperfect in WGIL. is formed from the past stem with the addition of the suffix *-i-* and personal ending (*-əm*, *-i*, *-Ø*, *-im*, *-id*, *-id*). The general pattern of imperfect in EGIL. is formed from the past stem with the personal ending (*-əm*, *-i*, *-ə*, *-im*, *-in*, *-ən*) without the imperfect suffix *-i*:

WGIL. *xandən*, EGIL. *xondən* “to read”

| WGIL. | EGIL. |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|
| <i>xand-i-m</i> (< <i>-i-əm</i>) | <i>xond-əm</i> |
| <i>xand-i</i> (< <i>-i-i</i>) | <i>xond-i</i> |
| <i>xand-i-Ø</i> | <i>xond-ə</i> |
| <i>xand-i-m</i> (< <i>-i-im</i>) | <i>xond-im</i> |
| <i>xand-i-d</i> (< <i>-i-id</i>) | <i>xond-in</i> |
| <i>xand-i-d</i> (< <i>-i-id</i>) | <i>xond-ən</i> |

Progressive patterns in WGIL.

Form 1a: present progressive tense

Infinitive + locative *dər/dar* + (*-əm*, *-i*, *-ə*, *-im*, *-id*, *-ən/d*], originally prs. forms of the auxiliary *bən* “to be”):

xordən “to eat”
xordən dar-əm
xordən dar-i
xordən dar-ə
xordən dar-im
xordən dar-id
xordən dar-ən(d)

Form 1b: past progressive tense

Infinitive + locative *də* + *bu-* (-əm, -i, -ə/-u, -im, -id, -ən[d]), originally pst. forms of the auxiliary *bən* “to be”):

xordən du-bəm (<*bu-* + -əm)
xordən du-bi
xordən du-bu
xordən du-bim
xordən du-bid
xordən du-bən(d)

The negative marker *nə-* is used before the infinitive:

- (a) *nuxordən darəm* “I am not eating”;
- (b) *nuxordən dubəm* “I was not eating”

Form 2a: present progressive tense

(a) *karə* + prs. stem + (-əm, -i, -ə, -im, -id, -ənd):

karə xorəm
karə xori
karə xorə
karə xorim
karə xorid
karə xorən(d)

Form 2b: past progressive tense

karə + pst. stem + (-im, -i, -i, -im, -id, -id):

karə xordim

karə xordi

kara xordi

karə xordim

karə xordid

kara xordid

Form 3a: present progressive tense

karə + infintive + locative *dər* + (-əm, -i, -ə, -im, -id, -ən[d]):

goftən “to say”

karə goftən darəm

karə goftən dari

karə goftən darə

karə goftən darim

kara goftən darid

karə goftən darən(d)

Form 3b: past progressive tense

karə + infintive + locative *də* + *bu-* + (-əm, -i, -ə/-u, -im, -id, -ən[d]):

karə goftən dubəm

karə goftən dubi

karə goftən dubu

karə goftən dubim

karə goftən dubid

karə goftən dubən(d)

Progressive patterns in EGil.

Form 4a: present progressive tense

Infinitive (minus final *n*) + locative *dər* + (-əm, -i, -ə, -im, -in, -ən):

amən “to come” (Lāhijāni)

ama dərəm

ama dəri

ama dərə

ama dərim

ama dərin

ama dərən

hamən “to come” (Rudsari)

hama darəm

hama dari

hama darə

hamə darim

hamə darin

hamə darən

katən “to fall” (Rudsari)

katə darəm

katə dari

katə darə

katə darim

katə darin

katə darən

The negative marker *nə-* is added after *dər* with assimilation of *-rn-* to *-nn-*:

ama dənnəm “I am not coming”.

Form 4b: past progressive tense

Infinitive (minus final *n*) + locative *də* + *bu-* (-m, -i, -o, -im, -in, -on)

xordən “to eat” (Lāhijāni) *amən* “to come” (Siāhkali) *dədən* “to run” (Rudsari)

xordə dəbom

ama dəbom

dəda bum

xordə dəbi

ama dəbi

dəda bi

xordə dəbo

ama dəbo

dəda bu

xordə dəbim

ama dəbim

dəda bim

xordə dəbin

ama dəbin

dəda bin

xordə debon

ama dəbon

dəda bun

The negative marker *nə* is added after locative *də*:

dədanə bun “I was not running”.

For Lāhījāni, Stilo (2018: 737) gives a second form with *ka* inserted between the two elements:

gute ka darəm “I am saying”;

gute ka dubum “I was saying”.

The locative *də* changes to *nə/na* in Amlaši⁴ and Rudsari (Amāni 1391: 107) by assimilation to the preceding -*n-* of the infinitive:

hamən “to come” (Amlaši)

hamənabam < *hamen-na-bam < *hamen-dar-bam

hamenabi

hamə nabim

hamə nabim

hame nabin

hamə naban

furuxtən “to sell” (Rudsari)

činən “to pick up” (Rudsari)

furuxtənabum

činabum

furuxtənbi

činabi

furuxtənabu

činabu

furuxtənabim

činabim

furuxtənabin

činabin

furuxtənabun

činabun

4 More discussion of issues related to the structures of the verb in Amlaši can be found in Ranjbar and Rādmard 2003: 82.

The locative *də* (< **dar*) appears as *ar-* in Hassan Kiyādeh (Kalbāsi 1382: 91):

sut arom “I am burning”;

sut arabom “I was burning”.

Future tense

In Rašti, the future tense is as follows:

xa-y- (-əm, -i, -e, -im, -id, -an) + infinintive:

xayəm šun “I will go”;

naxayəm šun “I will not go”.

In Fum. and EGil., the future tense is as follows:

xa-y- (-əm, -i, -e, -im, -id, -an) + prefix *bu* (< *bə*) + prs. stem+ -əm, -i, -e, -im, -id, -an:

xayəm bušəm “I will go”;

naxayəm bušəm “I will not go”.

xa-n- (with or without -əm, -i, -e, -im, -in, -ən) + prefix *ba* + prs. stem+ -əm, -i, -e, -im, -in, -ən:

xanəm bašəm “I will go”;

xan bašəm “id.”;

naxanem bašəm “I will not go”

naxan bašəm “id.”.

Lexical differences

There are many cases where WGil. and EGil. use two distinct words to express a given concept. These differences sometimes are so great that speakers of the two varieties cannot or can hardly communicate with each other.

| WGil. | EGil. | |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>usadən</i> | <i>vitən</i> | “to take” |
| <i>giftən</i> | <i>aytən</i> | “to take, hold” |
| <i>dukuštən</i> | <i>dəmərdən</i> | “to extinguish” |
| <i>bostən</i> | <i>vakətən</i> | “to become” |
| <i>učən</i> | <i>fičən</i> | “to gather” |
| <i>zən</i> | <i>zan</i> | “to hit” |
| <i>zan</i> | <i>čən</i> | “to bear” |
| <i>vašadən</i> | <i>varganən</i> | “to expand” |
| <i>kor</i> | <i>laku</i> | “girl” |
| <i>rey</i> | <i>rika</i> | “boy” |

Loanwords in Gilaki

Russian loanwords in Gilaki

The first commercial and diplomatic relations between Russia and Iran date back to the 16th century. These relations began when a Volga-Caspian route began developing in 1550 to connect western Europe to Iran via Russia. During the 18th and 19th centuries, this contact increased and the local rulers of Gilān established direct diplomatic relations with Russia. The increasing contacts led to the expansion of foreign trade and the rise of maritime transportation in the Caspian Sea, which facilitated the expansion of Russian activities in Gilān and caused the rise in production and export of silk, fish and rice, as well as other goods including olives and timbers.

The Russian loanwords in Gilaki can be classified in the following categories:

(1) civil and military words:

- Gil. *boška* “wooden or metal barrel” < Russ. бочка “id.”;
- Gil. *daška* “handbarrow” < Russ. дружка “horse-drawn carriage”;
- Gil. *lotka* “small boat” < Russ. лодка “id.”;
- Gil. *zapas* “spare” < Russ. запасной “id.”;
- Gil. *saldat* “soldier” < Russ. солдат “id.”;
- Gil. *putin* “boot” < Russ. ботинки “id.”;
- Gil. *bot* “boot” < Russ. боты “id.”.

(2) loanwords related to government and politics:

- Gil. *tuxmə bolševik* “bastard” < Russ. большевик “bolshevik”;
- Gil. *duma* “council” < Russ. дума “thought”;
- Gil. *zakon* “law” < Russ. закон “id.”.

(3) loanwords related to food stuffs, food production, fabrics and tools:

- Gil. *istakan* “tea cup” < Russ. стакан “glass”;
- Gil. *samavar* “samovar” < Russ. самовар “id.”;
- Gil. *suxari* “type of light pastry” < Russ. сухари “crackers”;
- Gil. *vodka* “vodka” < Russ. водка “id.”;
- Gil. *sibiška* “flower seed” < Russ. семечко “id.”;
- Gil. *pomoder* “tomato” < Russ. помодор “id.”;
- Gil. *badarə* “bucket” < Russ. ведро “id.”;
- Gil. *šot* “brush” < Russ. щетка “id.”;
- Gil. *nasuz* “pump” < Russ. насос “id.”;
- Gil. *abuška* “window” < Russ. окошка “id.”;
- Gil. *razinka* “slingshot” < Russ. резина “rubber, elastic material”.

(4) words for clothes:

- Gil. *paltu* “overcoat” < Russ. пальто “id.”;
- Gil. *jelixə* “waistcoat” < Russ. жилетка “id.”;
- Gil. *zamaska* “luting” < Russ. замазка “id.”;
- Gil. *fastuni* “a type of delicate velvet” < Russ. бостон “id.”;
- Gil. *sasun* “pleats” < Russ. сасун “id.”;
- Gil. *mitxal* “calico” < Russ. миткаль “id.”;

- Gil. *galuš* “waterproof plastic shoe” < Russ. галуш/калуш “galosh”.
- (5) words for measures and monetary units:
- Gil. *put/pud* “36 pounds” < Russ. пуд “id.”;
- Gil. *aršin* “a measure of length” < Russ. аршин “id.”;
- Gil. *dužin* “dozen” < Russ. дюжина “id.”;
- Gil. *manat* “precious (silver or golden) coin used as necklace pendant” < Russ. монет “rouble”⁵.
- (6) words for fishes (Seyed-Āqāyi Rezāyi and Hoseyni 1393: 21-45):
- Gil. *kafal* “*Liza saliens* Risso, mullet” < Russ. кефаль “id.”;
- Gil. *kilka* “a sprat-like fish (of the Clupeonella genus)” < Russ. килька “id.”;
- Gil. *salitka* “a herring-like fish (of the Clupeidae family)” < Russ. селёдка “id.”;
- Gil. *čabak* “*Rutilus rutilus caspicus*” < Russ. чебак “id.”.

Persian loanwords in Gilaki

Gilaki has been in contact with Persian for a long time. Stilo (2018: 667) considers a number of loanwords to go back to earlier stages of the prehistory of Caspian languages. Some examples follow:

dan- “to know” prs. stem, cf. CTāl. *zon-*, STāl. *zan-* < Ir. **džā-nā-*, cf. Av. *zā-nā-*, OP *dā-nā-* (cf. § 12.2);
zənay, zən “woman, wife”, cf. CTāl. *jən*, STāl. (Māsuleh, Fuman, Šaft) *yən* < Ir. **janī-*, cf. Av. *janī-*, OInd. *janī-* (cf. § 22.1a).

More recently, further words have been borrowed from Persian into Gilaki. In more traditional varieties, the original Gilaki words are preserved and used by older generation, while in more innovative varieties, the Persian loans increase in frequency (Stilo 2018: 667) and are used more by young and middle-aged generations⁶. Examples of Persian loanwords in my data include the following:

5 More discussion of issues related to the origin of *manāt* in Persian and other Iranian languages can be found in Hassanzadeh-Nodehi and Maggi (forthcoming).

6 More discussion of issues related to typological shift in Gilaki from one generation to the next can be found in Hassanzadeh-Nodehi, Anderson and Heggarty (forthcoming).

| | Genuine Gilaki words | Persian loanwords |
|-----------|----------------------|-------------------|
| “bee” | <i>gərzag</i> | <i>zanbur</i> |
| “egg” | <i>morqane</i> | <i>toxme morq</i> |
| “sparrow” | <i>čičini</i> | <i>gunješk</i> |
| “hungry” | <i>višta</i> | <i>gorəsne</i> |
| “frog” | <i>gozga</i> | <i>qorbaqa</i> |
| “pepper” | <i>germalat</i> | <i>felfel</i> |
| “hungry” | <i>putal</i> | <i>morče</i> |
| “rope” | <i>lafand</i> | <i>tanab</i> |
| “face” | <i>dim</i> | <i>sorat</i> |
| “tooth” | <i>gaz</i> | <i>dandan</i> |

Historical phonology of Gilaki

In this chapter, words from other languages quoted in comparisons with Gilaki are basically taken from the following sources: MacKenzie 1986 for Middle Persian, Durkin-Meisterernst 2004 for Parthian, Hasandust 1393 for New Persian, Bartholomae 1904 (adapted to Kark Hoffman's transliteration) for Avestan, Schmitt 2014 for Old Persian and Cheung 2007 for the Iranian verbs.

Phonemes of Proto-Iranian

| | Labial | Dental | Palato-alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Laryngeal | Glottal |
|-------------|--------|--------|-----------------|---------|-------|-----------|---------|
| Nasal | m | n | | | | | |
| Occlusive | p b | t d | | | k g | | |
| Affricate | | | tś dż | č ġ | | | h |
| Fricative | f | θ | | | x | H | |
| Sibilant | | s z | | š ž | | | |
| Trill | | r | | | | | |
| Lateral | | l | | | | | |
| Approximant | ü | | | í | | | |

| | Front | Central | Back |
|------|-------|---------|------|
| High | i ī | | u ū |
| Low | | a ā | |

Phonemes of Gilaki

| | Labial | Denti-alveolar | Alveolar | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-------------|--------|----------------|----------|------------------|-------|---------|
| Occlusive | p b | | t d | | k g | ? |
| Fricative | | f v | s z | š ž ⁷ | x γ | h |
| Affricate | | | | č ġ | | |
| Nasal | m | | n | | | |
| Lateral | | | l | | | |
| Approximant | | | | y | | |
| Trill | | | r | | | |

| | Front | Central | Back |
|---------|-------|----------------|----------------|
| High | i | | u |
| Central | e | ə | o |
| Low | | a ₁ | ā ₂ |

Historical correspondences

Vowels

Iranian and non-Iranian scholars have described the vowel system of Gilaki in different ways. Arthur Christensen (1930: 39) suggested twenty one vowels and Rastorgueva et al. (2012: 7) believed that there are nine vowels in Gilaki (*i, ī, e, ə, a, ā, o, u, ū*). According to Stilo (2001: 661) there are six or seven vowels in Gilaki (*i, u, e, o, ə, a₁, a₂*).

Contrary to Christensen's and Rastorgueva's claim, I find that there are actually no more than seven vowels in Gilaki (*i, u, e, o, ə, a₁, a₂*). As Stilo (2001: 661) mentions, *a₁* and *a₂* are pronounced the same in different linguistic contexts, however, *a₁*

⁷ “There is no strong evidence for /ž/ in Mazanderani, Gilaki, or S. Tati. The four examples that Jahāngiri (2003: 28) adduces mostly occur in the context VžC and probably do not contrast with /j/” (Stilo 2018: 677).

has a wider allophonic distribution. The *a₂* is considered as a late vowel in Gilaki under strong influence of Persian.

a₁ goes back to Ir.**a* (1) at the beginning of a word before two consonants and (2) after “*h*” in the initial syllable of a word.

“In the process of transformation of Gilaki vocalism, two main factors acted: (1) its own internal laws of development, expressed (as in other new Iranian languages) in gradually highlighting the quality of vowels as the main phonological attribute and in the associated weakening of their distinction through duration, (2) the influence of Persian, especially in cities. In the course of their internal development, **a* and **ā* drifted in their qualitative characteristics: **a*, having moved in the central range and slightly narrowed, passed into /ə/, **ā* lost its duration and passed into /a/”⁸. (my translation, p.459, PKYa)

According to Rastorgueva and Édel'man, the position of *i* ~ *i*, *u* ~ *u* are preserved and quantitatively stable /e/, /o/, /ā/ continue earlier /ē/, /ō/, /ā/ and this makes it possible to restore, for an earlier stage of Gilaki or Old Gilaki, as they call it (Russ. староглянсий), an inventory of eight phonemes similar to the Parthian and Middle Persian ones: /i/, /ī/, /ē/, /a/, /ā/, /u/, /ū/, /ō/. (Rastorgueva and Édel'man1982: 459)

They claim that the relic phoneme /ū/, existing only in open pre-tonic syllable, in those few words where it is recorded goes back to OGil. */ō/ < Ir. *au (Rastorgueva and Édel'man1982: 459). In my opinion, [ū] is an allophone of /u/ and Gil. *o* goes back to /ō/ < Ir. *au.

8 В процессе дальнейшего преобразования гилянского вокализма действовали два основных фактора: 1) собственные внутренние закономерности развития, выразившиеся (как и в других новоиранских языках) в постепенном выдвижении на первый план качества гласных, как основного фонологического признака, и в связанном с этим ослаблении их различия по длительности, 2) влияние персидского языка, очень сильное, особенно в городах. В ходе собственного, внутреннего развития: разошлись в своей качественной характеристике **a* и **ā*: **a*, отодвинувшись назад, в нейтральный ряд и слегка сузившись, перешло в /ə/, **ā* утратило длительность и перешло в /a/.

In a number of cases, /e/ and /o/ have already developed in a later period on the basis of a contraction: *e* < **ida*, **ada* (obviously, through intermediate **iya*, **aya*), *o* < **ava*, **av*, **au*. (Rastorgueva and Édel'man 1982: 459)

MacKenzie (1984: 54) maintains that the distinction between *i* < **i* and *e* < **ē* still be observed in a number of words, e.g. *der* “late”, *mex* “nail”, *seb* “apple”, *tey* “sword”, against *šir* “milk”, *sir* “garlic”, *dim* “face”, *tij* “sharp” (instead of expected **šer*, **dem*, **tej*). However, he mentions that two words with initial *ē-* in MP, i.e. *ē(w)* “one” and *ēč* “none” are *i* and *ič* respectively in Gilaki.

Purhādi (1397: 38) also claims that *ē* and *ī* exist as two phonemes in Gilaki, e.g. *dēr* “late”, *sēr* “garlic” and *bī* “you were” against *bi* “without”. In my opinion, there is no difference between *bī* and *bi*. In other words, *bī* and *bi* can not be considered as a minimal pair as Purhādi has it, while [ē] and [ī] are two allophones of *e* and *i*.

The history of the Gilaki vowels appears to be as follows⁹ in relation to the ancient Iranian languages and the common Iranian proto-language.

§ 1 Gilaki /i/

[PKYa 460-61]

The phoneme /i/, in which, as we showed above, three vowel phonemes **i*, **ī*, **ē* of an earlier (Middle Iranian) period of development of the given language partially merged, has three main lines of their etymological correspondences:

(1) /i/ < OGil. **i* goes back to Ir. **i* or originated from Ir. **r̥* in the clusters **rd*, **r̥s*, **r̥b*. Examples:

9 The following paragraphs are mainly a remake, with corrections, additions, and deletions, of the treatment of the historical phonology of Gilaki by V. S. Rastorgueva and D. I. Édel'man in their chapter “Gilyanskii, mazanderanskii (s dyalektami šamerzadi i Velatru)” = “Čast' II: Prikaspiskie yazyki” (Rastorgueva and Édel'man 1982, henceforth PKYa for short). Reference to their work is made at the beginning of each paragraph. Corrections of Gilaki words are made tacitly, other corrections are signalled by “PKYa differs” and additions by “not in PKYa” or reference to other works, while deletions are not signalled.

(a) /i/ < Ir. **i*

- Gil. *niga(h)* “look, glance”, cf. MP *nigāh* < Ir. *ni-*kātš-*, cf. Av. *kas-* “to perceive, see”;
- Gil. *nifrin* “curse”, cf. MP *nifrīn* < Ir. *ni-*frīn-*, cf. Av. *frāy-* “to please”;
- Gil. *imšəb* “tonight”, cf. NP *imšab* < Ir. **ima* “this”, *xšap-* “night”, cf. Av., OP *ima-*, Av., OP *xšap-*.

(b) /i/ < Ir. **ṛ* (in the clusters **ṛs* , **ṛš*):

- Gil. *višta* “hungry”, cf. NP *gorosne*, *gošne* < Ir. **ṛṣna-ka-*.

(2) /i/ < OGil. **ī* goes back to Ir. **ī*:

- Gil. *bim* “fear”, cf. MP *bīm* < Ir. **bīma-*, cf. OInd. *bhīma-* “scary”;
- Gil. *šir* “milk”, cf. MP *šīr* < Ir. **xšīra-*, cf. OInd. *kṣīra-*;
- Gil. *bist* “twenty” < Ir. **ūṣati-*, cf. Av. *vīsaiti-* (in the derivative *vīsaitiūuant-* “twentyfold”).

(3) /i/ < OGil. **ī* is also found in the sequence *ir* < OGil. **īr*:

(a) from Ir. **irja* (**ṛja*):

- Gil. *mir-* prs. stem “to die” < Ir. **mṛ-ja-*, cf. Av. *miriia-*.

(b) from Ir. **igr* (> **iyr* > **īr* > *ir*):

- Gil. *tir* “arrow, shot”, cf. MP *tīr* < Ir. **tigri-* “arrow”, cf. Av. *tiyri-* and *tiyra-* “sharp”.

(4) /i/ < OGil. **ē* goes back to Ir. **ai*, **ahia*. Examples:

(a) /i/ < Ir. **ai*:

- Gil. *gis* “braid (braided hair)” < Ir. **gaitša-*, cf. Av. *gaēsa-* “curly hair”;
- Gil. *bid* “willow” MP *wēd* < Ir. **ūaiti-*, cf. Av. *vaēti-*;
- Gil. *din* “religion”, cf. MP *dēn* < OIr. **dainā-*, cf. Av. *daēnā-*;
- Gil. *i* “one”, cf. MP *ēw* < Ir. **aiya-*, cf. Av. *aēuuua-*, OP *ajva-*;
- Gil. *kinə* “grudge, hatred” < Ir. **kaina-ka-*, cf. Av. *kaēnā-* “punishment, revenge”;
- Gil. *himə* “firewood” < Ir. **aidžma-ka-*, cf. Av. *aēsma-*.

(b) /i/ < Ir. *ahia:

- Gil. *ki/ke* “who, who?” < Ir. *kahia gen. sg. from *ka- “who?”, cf. Av. *ka-*;
- Gil. *či* “what?” < OIr. *čahia thematized gen.sg. from *či-, cf. OP *ci*.

(5) /i/ < Ir. *a under the influence of neighboring consonants involving palatal articulation (š, ĥ, ī):

- Gil. *šiš* “six”, cf. MP *šāš* < Ir. *xšuaš, Av. *xšuuāš*;
- Gil. *jigər* “liver”, MP *jagar* < Ir. *yākar-, cf. Av. *yākar-*, OInd. *yākṛt-*.

(6) /i/ instead of *ə < *a (cf. § 4.1) is also found in a series of words in initial pre-tonic syllable:

- Gil. *hizar* “thousand”, cf. MP *hazār* < Ir. *hazahra-, cf. Av. *hazajra-*, OInd. *sahasra-*;
- Gil. *pinhan* “hidden” < MIr. *pa-nihān; (Hübschmann 1895: 128);
- Gil. *bə/bi* “in, to, on” proclitic < Ir. *pati, cf. Av. *paiti*, OP *pati*.

(7) formed as a result of the contraction of Ir. *ida (> *iδa > *iya > *ē > OGil. ī in open, pre-tonic syllable):

- Gil. *bivə* “widow”, cf. MP *wēwag* < Ir. *uidauā-, cf. Av. *viðauuā-*, OInd. *vidhavā-*.

§ 2 Gilaki /e/

[PKYa 461]

The phoneme /e/ has the following lines of etymological correspondences:

(1) /e/ < Ir. *ai:

- Gil. *me(h)man* “guest”, cf. MP *mehmān* < Ir. *maiθman-, cf. Av. *miθ-* “to rest, dwell”, *maēθana-* “dwelling”;
- Gil. *tej* “sharp, swift” MP *tēz* < Ir. *taija-, cf. Av. *brōiθrō-taēža-* “with sharp edge”.

(2) /e/ < ī

- Gil. *šerən* “sweet” cf. MP. < Ir. *xšīraina;
- Gil. *deroz* “yesterday” < MIr. *dīg “other”+rōz- “day”, cf. MP *dīg + rōz*.

(3) /e/ < Ir. **aia*, **ahja*, **aiu*, **ahju*:

- Gil. *se* “three”, cf. MP *sē* < Ir. **θraia-*, cf. Av. *θraiīō*;
- Gil. *ki/ke* “who, who?” < Ir. **kahja* gen. sg. from **ka-* “who?”, cf. Av. *ka-*;
- Gil. *mex* “nail” < Ir. **maiūxa-*, cf. OP *mayūxa-* “doorknob”, OInd. *mayūkha-* “peg”;
- Gil. *dehat/dihat* (*deh* “village”+ *at*) “countryside”, MP *deh* < Ir. **dahju-*, cf. OP *dahyu-* “country, land”.

(4) /e/ in the sequence *er* < **ayr* < **ayr* < **agr* < Ir. **arg* by metathesis:

- Gil. *der* “late” < MIr. **dagr*, cf. MP *dagr* “long” < Ir. **darga-*, cf. Av. *darəga-*, *darga-*;
- Gil. *ser* “full” < MIr. **sagr*, cf. MP *sagr* < Ir. **sarga-* (?).

(5) /e/ goes back to Ir. **ādi*, *ida*:

(a) /e/ as a result of the contraction (in the late New Iranian period) from **ādi*:

- Gil. *re* “for” < Ir. **rādī*, cf. OP *rādī*.

(b) /e/ < Ir. **ida*:

- Gil. *per* “father”, MP *pidar* < *pidar*
- Gil. *rasen* “to arrive”, MP *rasīdan* < *rasidan*
- Gil. *čen* “to pick”, MP *čīdan* < *čiden*
- Gil. *kăšen* “to draw, drag” < *kešidan*.

(6)

(a) /e/ < **i* in the position before *h*:

- Gil. *me(h)r* “love, affection”, cf. MP *mehr* < Ir. **miθra-*, cf. Av. *miθra-* 1) “contract, agreement”, 2) “Mithra (the sun god)”, OInd. *mitra-* “friend”.

(b) in Arabic words also before h < ε (-̄-) (in the late New Iranian period)

- *ihtimal* “probability” < NP *ehtemāl* < Ar. *ihtimāl*
- *i‘terz* “protest” < NP *e‘terāż* < Ar. *i‘tirāż*.

(7) In the speech of the intelligentsia under the influence of the Persian language /e/ appears in some words instead of /i/:

- Gil. *kelm* “worm” < *kilm* (cf. NP *kerm*);
- Gil. *behešt* “paradise” < *bihisht* (cf. NP *behešt*);
- Gil. *čel/čehel* “forth” < *čil/čihil* (cf. NP *čehel*).

(8) The transition *ay* > *ey* is also apparently due to the influence of the Persian language:

- Gil. *peyda* “visible, evident” (cf. NP *peydā*) < *paydā*;
- Gil. *peyman* “treaty” (cf. NP *peymān*) < *payman*;
- Gil. *ney* “flute” (cf. NP *ney*) < *nay*.

§ 3 Gilaki /a₁/

[PKYa 461-62]

The phoneme /a₁/ has two main lines of historical correspondences:

(1) /a₁/ < Ir. **a* is consistently preserved:

(a) at the beginning of a word before two consonants:

- Gil. *abr* “cloud”, cf. MP *abr* < Ir. **abra-*, cf. Av. *aβra-*, OInd. *abhra-*;
- *angušt* “finger”, cf. Parth. *angušt* < Ir. **angušta-*, cf. Av. *angušta-*;
- Gil. *arzəš* “value”, *arzan* “cheap” < **arz* < Ir. **arjah-*, cf. Av. *arəjah-* “value, price”.

(b) after **h* in the initial syllable of a word (regardless of whether *h* is preserved or disappears in Gilaki);

- Gil. *agə* “if”, MP *agar*, cf. Av. *hakərət* “once”, OP *hakaram*;
- Gil. *hamə* “all”, cf. MP *hamāg* < Ir. **hama-ka-*, cf. Av. *hama-* “each”, OInd. *sama-*;
- Gil. *(h)aft* “seven”, cf. MP *haft* < Ir. **hafta*, cf. Av. *hapta*, OInd. *sapta*.

(2) Less consistently /a/ < Ir. **a* is preserved:

(a) before *h* < Ir. **θ*:

- Gil. *pa(h)n* “wide” < Ir. **paθana-*, cf. Av. *paθana-*.

(b) before *(h)l* < Ir. **rts̥*:

- Gil. *pahlu*, *pali* “side, flank”, cf. Ir. **partšu-*, cf. Av. *parəsu-*, *pərəsu-* “rib, side”;

(c) before *(h)r* < Ir. **θr*:

- Gil. *ša(h)r* “city”, cf. MP *šahr* “land, country” < Ir. **xšaθra-*, cf. Av. *xšaθra-*, OP *xšača-*, OInd. *kṣatra-*.

Along with this, in this position /ə/ < Ir. **a* is possible (see below).

(3) Less often (obviously, under the influence of the Persian language) /a₁/ < Ir. **a* in other positions, usually in parallel with /ə/:

- Gil. *xər/xar* “donkey” < Ir. **xara-*, cf. Av. *xara-*.

§ 4 Gilaki /a₂/

[PKYa 462]

(1) /a₂/ < Ir. **ā*:

- Gil. *rast* “true, right, straight”, cf. MP *rāst* < Ir. **rātšta-*, cf. Av. *rāšta-*, OP *rāsta-*;
- Gil. *šad* “happy”, cf. MP *šād* < Ir. **čiāta-*, cf. OAv. *śiiāta-*, OP *śiyāta-*;
- Gil. *pəs/z* “then, later”, cf. MP *pas* < Ir. **pasčā*, cf. Av. *pasca*, OP *pasā*, OInd. *paścā*.

(2) According to Rastorgueva and Edel'man, the phoneme /ā/, borrowed from Persian, in a number of words replaced Gilaki proper /a₂/ where it goes back to earlier **ā* (from Ir. **ā*, **āuā* or less often, from Ir. **a*):

(a)

- Gil. *ab* “water” < Ir. **āp-*, cf. Av. *āp-*, OP *ap-*;
- Gil. *nam* “name”, cf. MP *nām* < Ir. **nāman-*, cf. Av. *nāman-*, OP *nāman-*, OInd. *nāman-*;
- Gil. *pak* “clean”, cf. MP *pāk* < Ir. **pāuaka-*, NP *pāk*, cf. OInd. *pāvaka-*;
- Gil. *tar* “darkness” < OGil. **tār* < Ir. **tanθra-*, cf. Av. *taθra-* “darkness”, *taθriia-* “dark”;
- Gil. *hizar* “thousand”, cf. MP *hazār* < Ir. **hazahra-*, cf. Av. *hazajra-*, OInd. *sa-hasra-*.

(b) Often in such cases there is a parallel pronunciation \bar{a}/a_2 among young generation

- Gil. *sāl/sal* “year”, cf. MP *sāl* < Ir. **sard-*, cf. Av. *sarəd-*, OP *θard-*;
- Gil. *šām/šam* “dinner”, MP *šām*, cf. Av. *xšafniia-* “night, dinner”;
- Gil. *mā/mā* “moon, month”, cf. MP *māh* < Ir. **māh*, cf. Av. *māh*, OP *māh-* “month”, OInd. *mās-*.

§ 5 Gilaki /ə/

[PKYa 462-63]

(1) The phoneme /ə/ goes back to Ir. **a* in all cases, except the initial position before two consonants and the position before *h* in the first syllable of a word (where /*a/* is kept, see above):

- Gil. *sər* “head” cf. MP *sar* < *Ir. *tśarah-*, Av. *sarah-*, OInd. *śiras-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 355);
- Gil. *bəhar/vəhar* “spring”, cf. MP *wahār* < Ir. **yüahāra-*, cf. Av. *vanyhar-*, OP *°vāhara-*;
- Gil. *sayə* “shadow” < Ir. **stśāja-ka-*, cf. Av. *a-saiia-* “not casting, not having a shadow”, OInd. *chāyā-*.

(2) There are frequent cases of parallel use of *ə/a* (*a* in this case, perhaps, under the influence of Persian *a*):

- Gil. *mərg/marg* “death”, cf. MP *marg* < Ir. **marka-*, cf. Av. *mahrka-*, *maraka-*;
- Gil. *xər/xar* “donkey”, cf. MP *xar* < Ir. **xara-*, cf. Av. *xara-*.

(3) In final position, there is regularly *ə*:

- *xanə* “home”, cf. NP *xāne*;
- *šanə* “comb, shoulder”, cf. NP *šāne*.

(4) /ə/ < OGil. **i* comes from different antecedents:

(a) from Ir. **i*:

- Gil. *baləš* “pillow” < OGil. **bāliš* < Ir. **bardžiš-*, cf. Av. *barəziš-*.

(b) from Ir. **īya*:

- Gil. *zəndə* “alive” < OGil. **zinda* < MIr. **jīwanda* < OIr. **jīwanta-ka-*, cf. Av. *juua-* prs. stem from root **jaiH-* “to live”.

(c) in the sequences *ərs/əš* < OGil. **ir/*iš* < Ir. **rš*:

- Gil. *xərs* “bear” < OGil. **xirs*, cf. MP *xirs* < *Ir. *rša-*, cf. Av. *arša-*;
- Gil. *kəšt-* “to plant” < OGil. **kišt-* cf. MP, Parth *kišt-* pret. stem “to sow” < *Ir. *kṛṣta-* from *karš-*, cf. Av. *karš-* “to make a furrow, plow”.

(d) from OGil. **ē* < Ir **ai*:

- Gil. *ferəštə* “angel” < OGil. **firēšta*, cf. MP *frēstag* < *Ir. *fraišta-ka-*, cf. Av. *fraēšta-* “ambassador, messenger”;
- Gil. *zəndān* “prison” < OGil. **zēndān*, cf. MP *zēndān* with **zēn* < *Ir. *zaina-* “weapon”, cf. Av. *zaēna-*.

(5) /ə/ < OGil. **u* in the sequence *ər* < **ur* < Ir. **r* after labial consonants:

- Gil. *mərd* pst. stem “to die” < OGil. **murd-*, cf. MP *murd* < *Ir. *mṛta-*, cf. Av. *mərəta-* pst. ptcp. from *mar-* “to die”;
- Gil. *vavərs-/vapərs-* prs. stem “to ask” < OGil. **va-purs-* < Ir. **pṛstśa-*, cf. Av. *pərəsa-*.

(6) in words of Arabic origin /ə/ < **u* occurs regularly in the initial *mə-* < *mu-* before ئ (-‘-) (dropped in Gilaki) and before *h*:

- Gil. *məalləm* “teacher” < *Ar. *mu‘allim*;
- Gil. *məallaṛə* “treatment” < *Ar. *mu‘ālija‘*;
- Gil. *məhafəzə* “protection” < *Ar. *muḥāfiẓa*.

(7) In old initial consonants clusters, Gilaki inserts, anaptyctic /ə/, maybe from an earlier anaptyctic **i* (cf. Middle Persian, Tajiki.):

- Gil. *dəraz* “long”, cf. MP *drāz* < Ir. **drājīah-*, cf. Av. *drājah-* “length”, *drājiīō* (*drājīah-*) “farther”;
- Gil. *setarə* “star” < MIr. **stārag*, MP *stārag*, cf. Ir. **stār-*, Av. *stār-*;
- Gil. *dəraxt* “tree”, cf. MP *draxt* < Ir. **draxta-* “firmly standing”, cf. Av. *draxta-* pst. ptcp. from *drang-* “to strengthen”;

- Gil. *sifid* “white”, cf. MP *ispēd* < Ir. **spaēta-*, cf. Av. *spaēta-*, OInd. *śveta-*.

§ 6 Gilaki /u/

[PKYa 463-64]

The phoneme /u/, in which, as we have said, the three vowel phonemes **u*, **ū*, **ō* of the Old Gilaki language have partially merged, has respectively three main lines of historical correspondences.

(1) /u/ < OGil. **u* goes back to Ir. **u* or formed on the basis of Ir. **r̥* (Gil. *ur* < Ir. **r̥* after labial consonants). Examples:

(a) /u/ < Ir. **u*:

- Gil. *dumb* “tail”, cf. MP *dum(b)* < Ir. **duma-/dumba-*, cf. Av. *duma-*;
- Gil. *surx* “red” < Ir. **t̥suxra-*, cf. Av. *suxra-*;
- Gil. *xum* “clay vessel” < Ir. **xumba-*, cf. Av. *xumba-*, OInd. *kumbha-*.

(b) /u/ in the sequence *ur* < Ir. **r̥*:

- Gil. *mury* “chicken, bird” < Ir. **mṛga-*, cf. Av. *mərəγa-*;
- Gil. *pušt* “back” < Ir. **pr̥sti-*, cf. Av. *par̥sti-*, *par̥sta-*, OInd. *pr̥sti-* “rib”;
- Gil. *purt/purd* “bridge” < Ir. **pṛtu-*, cf. Av. *pərətu-* “crossing (through water), bridge” (Stilo 2001: 660).

(2) /u/ < Ir. **a* after **h₂u*:

- Gil. *xu/xo* “oneself, own” < Ir. **h₂uatah*, cf. Av. *x̥atō*, OInd. *svatah*;
- Gil. *xuda* “God”, cf. MP *xwadāy* “lord”;
- Gil. *xuš* “pleasant”, cf. MP *xwaš* “nice, good”.

(3) /u/ < OGil. **u* goes back to Ir. **ū*:

- Gil. *muš* “mouse”, cf. MP *mūš* < Ir. **mūš-*, cf. Av. *mūš-*, OInd. *mūṣ-*;
- Gil. *abru* “eyebrow”, cf. MP *brūg* < Ir. **brūka-*, cf. Av. *bruuat-*, OInd. *bhrū-*.

(4) /u/ < OGil. **ō* goes back to Ir. **aya*. Examples:

- Gil. *pust* “skin” < Ir. **pauastā-*, cf. OP *pavastā-* “clay shell wrapping”, OInd. *pavasta-* “cover”;
- Gil. *firu* “down” < Ir. **fravata-*, cf. OP *fravata-* “forward, down”.

(5) Also, there are not always explicable transitions in individual words as a result of late phonetic /u/ < *ā:

(a) /u/ < OGil. *ā before /n/ (maybe under the influence of colloquial Persian) in the words:

- Gil. *u/un* “that” < OGil. *ān-, cf. MP ān, ClP. ān;
- Gil. *hu* “that same” < *hamān, cf. ClP. hamān.

(b) /u/ < OGil. *a in the words:

- Gil. *čum* “eye” < *OGil. čašm < *Ir. čašman-;
- Gil. *xaxur* “sister” < Ir. *hūāhar-, cf. Av. x̌vāhar-, OInd. svasar-.

(c) /u/ < OGil. *i in the word:

- Gil. *muždə* “good news” < *mizdə- < *Ir. mīždə-ka-, cf. Av. mīžda- “payment, remuneration”.

(d) /u/ < Ir. *i in the initial syllable *gu* < Ir. *ui (maybe under the influence of the Persian language):

- Gil. *guzər-* prs. stem “to pass” < MIr. *wiðar-, cf. Parth. *widar-* [wiðar-], MP *widar-* [wiðar-] < *Ir. *ui-* + *tar-*, Av. *tar-*, OP *tar-* “to go over, cross”;
- Gil. *guman* “doubt”, Ir. *ui- + *man-*, cf. Av. *man-* “to think”;
- Gil. *guna* “sin” < *gunāh < MIr. *wināh, cf. MP *wināh* < Ir. *ui- + *nats-*, cf. Av. *nas-* “to disappear, die”, with the preverb *vi-* “to be doomed to death”.

(e) In some rare cases /u/ < Ir. *ui:

- Gil. *usə* “despatch”, cf. MP *wise-* < Ir. *ui-saīda-.

(6) Anaptyctic /u/ appeared in the New Iranian period between two initial consonants (usually before /u/, /o/):

- Gil. *sutun* “pillar, column” < Ir. *stūna-, cf. OP *stūna-*;
- Gil. *xuros* “rooster” (loanword, cf. Fum. *sugolə*) < *xurōs, cf. Ir. *xrautś-, Av. *xraos-* “to cry out”.

§ 7 Gilaki /o/

[PKYa 464-65]

The phoneme /o/ has the following:

(1) goes back to OGil. *ō < Ir. *au:

- Gil. *rod* “river” (cf. *ro-xan* < *rod-xan*; *ro-bar* < NP *rod-bār*), cf. MP *rōd* < Ir. **rauta-*, cf. Av. *rautah-*;
- Gil. *doš* “shoulder”, cf. MP *dōš* < Ir. **dauš-*, cf. Av. *daoš-*, OInd. *dos-* “forearm”;
- Gil. *doroy* “lie” < OGil. **drōy* < Ir. **drauga-*, cf. Av. *draoga-*, *draoya-*, OP *drauga-*;
- Gil. *do* “buttermilk” < OGil. **dōy* < Ir. **dauγ-* (Abaev 1958: 364);
- Gil. *goš* “ear” < OGil. **gōš* < Ir. **gauša-*, cf. Av. *gaoša-*, OP *gauša*, OInd. *ghoša-* “sound”;
- Gil. *roz* “day” < OGil. **rōz* < Ir. **ravčah-*, cf. Av. *raočah-*, OP *raγcah-*.
- Gil. *rošən* “light” < OGil. **rōšan* < Ir. **rauxšna-*, Av. *raoxšna-*;
- Gil. *royən* “oil” < OGil. **rōyan* < Ir. **ravyna-*, cf. Av. *raovna-*.

(2) originated in a later period from /u/ before /h/ in words of Iranian and Arabic origin:

- Gil. *kona* “old”; cf. ClP. *kuhna*, Taj. *kūhna*;
- Gil. *mor* “print” < NP *mohr* < Ar. *muhr*;
- Gil. *sobət* “talk” < NP *sohbat* < Ar. *suhbat*;
- Gil. *mokəm* “fortified, strong” < NP *mohkam* < Ar. *muhkam*.

(3) originated in a later period as a result of the contraction of *av*:

(a) in Iranian words:

- Gil. *raro* (1) “corridor”, (2) “passer by” < OGil. **rāhrav*, cf. ClP. *rāhrav*;
- Gil. *jo* “barley” < OGil. **jav* < Ir. **iaua-*, cf. Av. *yauua-* “cereals, grain”.

(b) in words of Arabic:

- Gil. *dor* “circle” < NP *dowr* < Ar. *dawr*;
- Gil. *tor* “way, manner” < NP *towr* < Ar. *tawr*;
- Gil. *moj* “wave” < NP *mowj* < Ar. *mawj*;
- Gil. *mozu* “subject” < NP *mowżu* < Ar. *mawżū*;
- Gil. *hoz* “pond, basin” < NP *howż* < Ar. *hawż*;

- Gil. *dolat* “government” < NP *dowlat* < Ar. *dawlat*.
- (4) originated on the basis of contractions (also in a later period) from some other combinations of sounds:
- Gil. *kotər* “dove” < OGil. **kabutar*, cf. ClP. *kabutar*;
 - Gil. *amon* “to come”, cf. ClP. *āmadan*;
 - Gil. *šon* “to go”, cf. ClP. *šodan* “to go, become”;
 - Gil. *bon* “to be”, cf. ClP. *budan*;
 - Gil. *bonə* “pretext, excuse” < OGil. **bahāna*, cf. ClP. *bahāna*;
 - Gil. *sobmənsəb* “officer” < NP *şāhebmansab*.

Consonants

§ 8 Gilaki /p/

[PKYa 482]

The phoneme /p/ goes back to Ir. **p* in the following phonetic positions:

(1) at word begining before vowels or **r*:

- Gil. *peš* “ahead”, cf. MP. *pēš*, OP *paišiyā*;
- Gil. *per* “father”, cf. MP *pidar* < Ir. **pitar-*, cf. Av. *pitar-*, OP *pitar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
- Gil. *par* “feather”, cf. MP *parr* < Ir. **parna-*, cf. Av. *parəna-* “feather, wing”, OInd. *parṇa-* “feather, leaf”;
- Gil. *pur* “full”, cf. MP *purr* < Ir. **pṛṇa-*, cf. Av. *pərəna-*;
- Gil. *pušt* “back”, cf. MP *pušt* < Ir. **pṛṣti-*, cf. Av. *paršti-*, *paršta-*, OInd. *pṛṣṭi-* “rib”.

(2) in the consonant cluster **sp* (phonetic feature of North-Western Iranian languages):

- Gil. *asb* “horse”, cf. Av. *aspə-*;
- Gil. *sifid* “white”, cf. MP *ispēd* < Ir. **spaīta-*, cf. Av. *spaēta-*, OP *śveta-*.

§ 9 Gilaki /t/

[PKYa 482-83]

The phoneme /t/ goes back to Ir. **t* in the following phonetic positions:

(1) at the beginning of a word before vowels:

- Gil. *tarik* “dark”, cf. MP *tārīg*, *tārīk* < Ir. **tanθr̥ia-ka-*, cf. Ir. **tanθra-* “darkness”, Av. *taθra-*, cf. *taθriia-* “dark”;
- Gil. *tu* “you”, cf. MP *tō* < Ir. **taya* gen. sg. “of you”, cf. Av. *tauua*;
- Gil. *tim* “young blade of rice”, cf. MP *tuhm* “seed, family” < Ir. **tauxman-*, cf. Av. *taoxman-* “seed, germ”, OInd. *tokman-* “young blade of corn”;
- Gil. *tir* “arrow, shot”, cf. MP *tīr* < Ir. **tigri-* “arrow”, cf. Av. *tiyri-*, *tiyra-* “sharp”.

Root initial /t/ is also preserved at in verbs with prefixes:

- Gil. *vatakəst-* pst. stem “to wash away”, cf. MP *tāxtan* “to cause to run, flow; chase, pour” < Ir. **tak/č-* “to flow, run”, Av. *tak-*.

(2) in the consonant clusters **st*, *št*, **xt*, **ft*:

- Gil. *setarə* “star” < MIr. **stārag*, cf. MP *stārag*, cf. Ir. **stār-*, cf. Av. *stār-*;
- Gil. *gošt* “meat”, cf. MP *gōšt* < Ir. **gau-šti-* (Bailey 1967: 75);
- Gil. *kušt-* pst. stem “to kill”, cf. MP *kuš-* < Ir. **kušta-* pst. ptcp. from **kauš-*, cf. Av. *kaoš-*;
- Gil. *angušt* “finger”, cf. Parth. *angušt* < Ir. **angušta-*, cf. Av. *angušta-*;
- Gil. *səxt* “difficult”, cf. MP *saxt* < Ir. **θaxta-* pst. ptcp. from **θanj-* “to pull, draw”, NP *saxt* (cf. Hasandust 1393: vol. 3, 1701; Cheung 2007: 391-92; PKYa differs);
- Gil. *dərəxt* “tree”, cf. MP *draxt* < Ir. **draxta-* “firmly standing” pst. ptcp. from **dra(n)j-* “to fix, fasten, hold”, cf. Av. *drəŋj-*;
- Gil. *pəxt-* pst. stem “to cook”, cf. MP *poxt-* < Ir. **paxta-* pst. ptcp. from **pač-*, cf. Av. *pac-* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *(h)aft* “seven”, cf. MP *haft* < Ir. **hafta*, cf. Av. *haptā*;
- Gil. *gift-* pst. stem “to take”, cf. MP *gir-* < Ir. **gṛfta-* pst. ptcp. from **grabH-* “to grab, seize, take”, cf. Av. *grab-*.

§ 10 Gilaki /k/

[PKYa 483]

The phoneme /k/ goes back to Ir. **k* in the following phonetic positions:

a:

(1) at the beginning of a word before vowels:

- Gil. *kəm* “little”, cf. MP *kam* < Ir. **kamna-*, cf. Av. *kamna-*, OP *kamna-*;
- Gil. *kaftən* “to fall”, cf. MP *kaftan* < Ir. **kap-*;
- Gil. *ko* “mountain”, cf. MP *kōf* < Ir. **kaufa-*, cf. Av. *kaofa-*, OP *kaufa-*;
- Gil. *kašə* “hug, arms”, cf. MP *kaš* “armpit” < Ir. **kaša-*, Av. *kaša-*, OInd. *kakṣa-*;
- Gil. *ki* “who, who?”, cf. MP *kē* < Ir. **kahia* gen. sg. from *ka-* “who?”, cf. Av. *ka-*, OP *ka-*.

(2) in the consonant clusters **sk*, *šk*:

- Gil. *šikar* “hunt”, cf. ManMP, Parth *iškar-* <*škr-*, *šqr-*> < Ir. **skāra-* from **skar-* “to pursue, drive, look for (the cattle)”, cf. Av. *skāraia̯t-raθa-* (?), NP *šekār* “hunt”;
- Gil. *iškən-* prs. stem “to break, cleave” < Ir. **skand-*, cf. Av. *skand-*;
- Gil. *xušk* “dry”, cf. MP *hušk* < Ir. **huška-*, cf. Av. *huška-*, OP *uška-*.

(3) in the suffix *-k* < Ir. *-*ka-* (in this position, **k* is preserved in a series of cases, while usually **k* in inter- and post-vocalic position becomes /g/ and /v/, see below):

- Gil. *xuk* “pig” cf. MP *hūg* < Ir. **hū-ka-*, cf. Av. *hū-*;
- Gil. *nəzdik* “near”, cf. MP *nazdīk* < Ir. **nazd-*, cf. Av. *nazdiō* (< **nazdiāh-*), OInd. *nedīyah-*;
- Gil. *tarik* “dark”, cf. MP *tārīg*, *tārīk* < Ir. **tanθriā-ka-*, cf. Ir. **tanθra-* “darkness”, Av. *taθra-*, cf. *taθriia-* “dark”;
- Gil. *pak* “clean”, cf. MP *pāk* < Ir. **pāuaka-*, NP *pāk*, cf. OInd. *pāvaka-*.

§ 11 Gilaki /b/

[PKYa 483-84]

The phoneme /b/ goes back to Ir. **b*, **p*, **u* in the following phonetic positions:

(1) at the beginning of a word before vowels:

- Gil. *abrар/bərər* “brother”, cf. MP *brād* < Ir. **brātar-*, cf. Av. *brātar-*, OP *brātar-*, OInd. *bhrātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
- Gil. *bu* “smell”, cf. MP *bōy* < Ir. **bauda-*, cf. Av. *baoδa-*;
- Gil. *bəxš-* prs. stem “to donate, to distribute”, cf. MP *baxš-* < Ir. **baxš-a-*, cf. Av. *baxš-a-*.

(2) in the consonant cluster *br*:

- Gil. *abru* “eyebrow”, cf. MP *brūg* < Ir. **brūka-*, cf. Av. *bruuat-*, OInd. *bhrū-*;
- Gil. *abr* “cloud”, cf. MP *abr* < Ir. **abra-*, cf. Av. *aβra-*, OInd. *abhra-*.

(3) in inter- and post-vocalic position:

- Gil. *ruba* “fox”, cf. MP *rōbāh* < Ir. **raupatśa-*, cf. OP **raupaθa-*, OInd. *lopāśa-*;
- Gil. *xob* “well”, cf. MP *xūb* < Ir. **hū-apah-*, Av. *huu-apah-* “doing good work”, OInd. *sv-apas-*;
- Gil. *ba* “with”, cf. MP *abāg* < Ir. **apāk*;
- Gil. *tabəstan* “summer”, cf. ManMP, Parth *tābān* from Ir. **tap-* “to warm up, heat”, Av. *tap-* “to be(come) hot”.

(4) /b/ < Ir. **p* at word beginning before a vowel in the preposition Gil. *bə*, *bi* “in, on, to” < Ir. **pati*, cf. Av. *paiti*, OP *pati*.

(5) *sb/sp* < Ir. **sp*:

- Gil. *asp/asb* “horse”, cf. MP *asp* < Ir. **atśua-*, cf. Av. *aspa-*, Med. **aspa-*, OP *asa-*, OInd. *asva-*.

(6) by influence of the Persian language /b/ < Ir. **yü* at the beginning of a word before vowels:

a:

- Gil. *bəd* “bad”, cf. MP *wad* < Ir. **yata-*;
- Gil. *bihist* “paradise”, cf. MP *wahišt* < Ir. **yahišta-*, cf. Av. *vahišta-*;
- Gil. *bid* “willow”, cf. MP *wēd* < Ir. **yaiti-*, cf. Av. *vaēti-*;
- Gil. *bərg/vərg* “leaf”, cf. MP *warg* < Ir. **yarka-*, cf. Av. *varəka-*;

- Gil. *bərf/vərf* “snow”, cf. MP *wafar* < Ir. **uafra-*, cf. Av. *vafra-* (cf. Geiger: 1898-1901: 351);
- Gil. *bad/vad* “wind”, cf. MP *wād* < Ir. **uāta-*, cf. Av. *vāta-*, OInd. *vāta-*;
- Gil. *bištar/vištar* “more”, cf. MP *wēš*.

It is often the case that in the same word /v/ is preserved beside /b/ (see below under /v/).

b:

Most consistently /b/ < Ir. *dū* (rare cases) at the beginning of a word in front of vowels is observed in Gilaki:

- Gil. *bər* “gate, door”, cf. MP *dar*, ManMP, Parth. *bar*
 < Ir. **dūar-*, cf. Av. *duuar-*, OP *duvara-*, OInd. *dvār-*.

§ 12 Gilaki /d/

[PKY_a 485]

The phoneme /d/ goes back to Ir. **d*, **dž*, **t* in the following phonetic positions:

(1) /d/ < Ir. **d* at the beginning of a word before vowels and *r*:

- Gil. *dod*, Fum. *död* “smoke”, cf. MP *dūd* < Ir. **dūta-*, cf. OInd. *dhūma-*;
- Gil. *dim* “face”, cf. ManMP, Parth. *dēm* <dym> < Ir. **daiman-*, cf. Av. *daēman-* “eye”;
- Gil. *dar* “tree” MP *dār* < Ir. **dāru-*, cf. Av. *dāru-*, OP *dāru-* “wood” (Geiger 1898-1901: 355);
- Gil. *dər* “gate, door”, cf. MP *dar*, ManMP, Parth. *bar*
 < Ir. **dūar-*, cf. Av. *duuar-*, OP *duvara-*, OInd. *dvār-*;
- Gil. *dad* “scream”, “justice”, cf. MP *dād* < Ir. **dāta-*, Av. *dāta-*, OP *dāta-*;
- Gil. *dif* “demon”, cf. MP *dēw* < Ir. **daiya-*, Av. *daēva-*, OP *daiva-*, OInd. *deva-*;
- Gil. *dəraz* “long”, cf. MP *drāz*, Av. *drājah-* “length”, *drājiiō* “farther” < *drājiiāh-*.

(2) Influenced by the Persian language /d/ < Ir. **dž* (Av., Med. *z*, OP *d*) at the beginning of a word before vowels:

- Gil. *dərya* “sea”, cf. MP *drayā(b)* < Ir. **džrayah-*, cf. Av. *zrayah-*, OP *drayah-*, OInd. *jrayas-*;

- Gil. *dil* “heart”, cf. MP *dil* < Ir. **dž̥rd-*, cf. Av. *zərəd-*, OInd. *hṛd-* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *dan-* prs. stem “to know”, cf. MP *dān-* < Ir. **džā-nā-*, cf. Av. *zā-nā-*, OP *dā-nā-* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *dəhan* “mouth”, cf. MP *dahăń*, Av. *zafan-*, *zafar-*.

Conservation of properly NWIr. /z/ < Ir. **dž* in these languages is observed only in isolated cases (see below).

(3) /d/ < Ir. **t* in inter- and post-vocalic position, as well as after **r*, **n*:

- Gil. *sad* “hundred”, cf. MP *sad* < Ir. **tšata-*, cf. Av. *sata-*, OP **θata-*, OInd. *śata-*;
- Gil. *šad* “happy”, cf. MP *šād* < Ir. **čjāta-*, cf. OAv. *śiiāta-*, OP *šiyāta-*;
- Gil. *zārd* “yellow”, cf. MP *zard* < Ir. **džarita-*, cf. Av. *zairita-*, OInd. *harita-*;
- Gil. *mārd* “man, husband”, cf. MP *mard* < Ir. **martiia-*, cf. Av. *mašiiā-*, OP *martiya-*, OInd. *mart(i)ya-*;
- Gil. *gəndum* “wheat”, cf. MP *gandum* < Ir. **gantuma-*, cf. Av. *gaṇtuma-*.

§ 13 Gilaki /g/

[PKYa 485- 486]

Phoneme /g/ goes back to Ir. **g*, **k*, **ȝ* in the following phonetic positions:

(1) /g/ < Ir. **g*:

(a) at the beginning of a word before a vowel:

- Gil. *goš* “ear”, cf. MP *gōš* < Ir. **gauša-*, cf. Av. *gaoša-*, OP *gaūša-*, OInd. *ghoṣa-* “sound”;
- Gil. *gərm* “warm”, cf. MP *garm* < Ir. **garma-*, cf. Av. *garəma-*, OP *garma°*;
- Gil. *gav* “bovine”, cf. MP *gāw* < Ir. **gāȝ-*, cf. Av. *gāu-*.

(b) in the cluster *ng* < Ir. **ng*:

- Gil. *rəng* “color”, cf. MP *rang* < Ir. **ranga-*, cf. OInd. *raṅga-*;
- Gil. *səng* “rock”, cf. MP *sang* < Ir. **atśanga-*, cf. Av. *asəŋga-*, OP *aθanga-*.

(2) /g/ < Ir. *k in inter- and post-vocalic position, as well as after *r:

(a) in inter- and post-vocalic position:

- Gil. *agə* “if”, cf. MP *agar*, Av. *hakərət* “once”, OP *hakaram*;
- Gil. *sag/sak* “dog” (with SWIr. *s* instead of NWIr. *sp*), cf. MP *sag* < Ir. **tšuaka-* “doglike”, cf. Av. *spaka-* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *jigər* “liver” < Ir. *(H)*čakar-*, cf. Av. *yākar-*, OInd. *yakṛt-*.

(b) after *r:

- Gil. *mərg* “death”, cf. MP *marg* < Ir. **marka-*, cf. Av. *mahrka-*.

(3) /g/ < Ir. **ɣ*

(a) probably on tabuistic grounds:

- Gil. *gozga* “frog”, cf. MP *wazay* < Ir. **ɣazaga-*, Av. *vazaya-* (frogs were regarded as symbols of evil in Zoroastrianism).¹⁰

(b) /g/ < Ir. **ɣ* at the beginning of a word before a vowel or before *r:

- Gil. *gurg* “wolf”, cf. MP *gurg* < Ir. **ɣurka-*, cf. Av. *vəhrka-*, OInd. *vrka-* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *gul* “flower”, cf. MP *gul* < Ir. **ɣurda-*, cf. Av. *varəða-* (Stilo 2001: 660).

2) *gu* < Ir. **ɣi:*

- Gil. *guna* “sin”, cf. MP *wināh* < Ir. **ɣi-nātša-*, cf. Av. *nas-*, with preverb *vi-* “to be doomed to death”;
- Gil. *guzar* “to pass, cross over”, cf. MP *wider-* < Ir. **ɣi-tarH-*, cf. Av. *tar-*, OP *vi-tar-*.

§ 14 Gilaki /č/

[PKYa 486]

10 The replacement of **mar* “snake” by *lanti* (lit. “the cursed one” ← Ar. *la ‘nat* “curse”) is also due to tabuistic reasons. Possibly also *gurg* “wolf”, cf. Ossetic *bīræg* “wolf” with irregular *b-* as against regular **wærg*, only continued in proper names (Abaev 1958: 263-64).

(1) The phoneme /č/ goes back to Ir. *č mostly at the beginning of a word before a vowel:

- Gil. *čəl* “spinning wheel”, cf. MP *čaxrag* < Ir. *čaxra-, cf. Av. čaxra-, OInd. *cakra-*;
- Gil. *čum* “eye”, cf. MP *čašm* < Ir. *čaxšman-, cf. Av. čašman-, OP čašman-, OInd. *cakšman-*;
- Gil. *čar* “four”, cf. MP. *čahār* < Ir. *čaθuār-, cf. Av. čaθβār-, OInd. *catvār-*.

See also /č/ in the Gilaki suffix of diminution or pettiness -čə (from Persian -če, cf. MP -čag): Gil. *bayčə* “garden”.

§ 15 Gilaki /j/

[PKYa 486- 487]

The phoneme /j/ goes back to Ir. *j, *č, *i in the following cases:

(1) /j/ < Ir. *j (NWIr. outcome) in some words after and before vowels:

- Gil. *baj* “ransom, tribute”, cf. MP *bāj* < Ir. *bājī-, cf. OP *bāji-*, OInd. *bhājī-*;
- Gil. *bij-* prs. stem “to fry”, cf. ManMP *brēz-* <*bryz-*> < Ir. *braij-;
- Gil. *julf* “deep”, cf. Parth. *žafra*, NP *žarf* < Ir. *jaſra-, Av. *jaſra*;
- Gil. *ažik* “worm, tapeworm” < Ir. *aži-ka- (see next);
- Gil. *ažaxa* “dragon”, cf. MP *Azdhāg* < Ir. *aži- and *dahāka-* “name of dragon”, Av. *aži-* and *dahāka-*; *ažam* “salty food” < *aži-dama-, cf. NP *dam* “human and non-human mouth” from Ir. *damba- or Ir. *dam-* “to blow” (?).

(2) /j/ < Ir. *č in the position after a vowel (NWIr. outcome):

- Gil. *suj-* “to burn”, cf. Parth. *sōž-* <*swc*>, MP *sōz-* < *Ir. *sauč-*, Av. *saoc-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352; Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *avaj* “response”, cf. MP *āwāz* “voice, sound” < Ir. *uac-, Av. *vac*, OInd. *vāc-*;
- Gil. *tej* “sharp, swift” MP *tēz* < Ir. *taijā-, cf. Av. *brōiθrō-taēža-* “with sharp edge”;
- Gil. *jə* “from, than”, cf. MP *az*, CIP. *ze* < *Ir. *hača*, cf. Av. *hacă*, OP *hacā* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352; Stilo 2001: 660);

- Gil. *jir* “down”, cf. MP *azēr* < Ir. **hača adarāt*, cf. Av. *haca* and *aðara-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352).

More often in this position, under the influence of Persian, /z/ < Ir. *č.

(3) /j/ < Ir. *č is also observed after *n:

- Gil. *pən̥j* “five”, cf. MP *panj* < Ir. **panča-*, cf. Av. *panca-*, OInd. *pañca-*;
- Gil. *pən̥ja* “fifty”, cf. MP *panjāh*, Av. *pančā-sat* (fem.).

(4) /j/ < Ir. *y at the beginning of a word:

- Gil. *jo* “barely”, cf. MP *jaw* < Ir. **jaúua-*, cf. Av. *yauua-* “grain”;
- Gil. *jəvan* “young”, cf. MP *juwān* < Ir. **iauān-*, cf. Av. *yauuān-*, OInd. *yuvan-*.

(5) In two words /j/ goes back to *gy < Ir. *ui:

- Gil. *jan* “body”, cf. MP *gyān* < Ir. **uiāna-*;
- Gil. *ja* “place”, cf. MP *gyāg* < Ir. **uiāka(h)-*, OInd. *vyacas-* “expanse, wide space” (rather than < MIr. **wyāg-* < *Ir. *ui-ūāh-a-ka-*, OIr. **ui-ūāh-a-ka-*, cf. Hasandust 1393: vol. 2, 947).

§ 16 Gilaki /f/

[PKYa 487-88]

(1) The phoneme /f/ in most cases goes back to Ir. *f in different phonetic positions at the beginning of a word, in the middle of a word between vowels, in the clusters *fr, *ft:

- Gil. *fərma-* prs. stem “to order”, cf. MP *framūdan-, framāy-* < Ir. **framaH-*, cf. Av., OP *mā-* “to measure”, with the preverb *fra-* “normalize, organize, order”;
- Gil. *foru*, Fum. *firu* “down”, cf. MP *frōd* < Ir. **frauat-as*, OP *fravata*;
- Gil. *kəf* “foam”, cf. NP *kaf* < Ir. **kafa-*, cf. Av. *kafa-*, OInd. *kapha-*;
- Gil. *naf* “navel”, cf. MP *nāf* < Ir. **nāfa-*, cf. Av. *nāfa-*;
- Gil. *bərf/vərf* “snow”, cf. MP *wafr* < Ir. **uafra-*, cf. Av. *vafra-* (cf. Geiger 1898-1901: 351);
- Gil. *haft* “seven”, cf. MP *haft* < Ir. **hafta*, cf. Av. *hapta*;
- Gil. *yaft* “to find”, cf. MP *ayāft-*;

- Gil. *taft* “hot flash, heat reflection”, cf. ManMP, Parth. *tābān* “summer”, MP *taftan*, *tāftan* from Ir. **tap-* “to warm up, heat”, Av. *tap-* “to be(come) hot”;

In addition, in a number of words /f/ goes back:

(2) to **p* in the clusters **sp*, **ps*:

- Gil. *gosfənd* “sheep”, cf. MP *gōspand* < Ir. **gau-tšuanta-*, cf. Av. *gaospənta-*;
- Gil. *afsos* “alas”, cf. MP *afsōs* “scorn, mockery” < Ir. **apa-tšrauθra-*, cf. OP **apa-*
čauča-.

2) sometimes to Ir. **x* in the cluster **xt*:

- Gil. *juft* “pair”, cf. MP *juxt* < Ir. **juxta-*, cf. Av. *yūxta-*, OInd. *yukta-*;
- Gil. *muft* “gratis, free”, cf. NP *moft* < Ir. **muxta-*, cf. OInd. *mukta-* “loosened, set free”.

§ 17 Gilaki /s/

[PKYa 488]

The phoneme /s/ goes back to Ir. **ts*, **θr*, rarely **š*:

(1) /s/ < Ir. **ts* in different phonetic positions:

(a) at the beginning of a word before vowels or in the Ir. consonant cluster **tsr*:

- Gil. *sər* “head”, cf. MP *sar* < Ir. **tsarah-*, cf. Av. *sarah-*, OInd. *śiras-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 355);
- Gil. *surx* “red”, cf. MP *suxr* < Ir. **tsuxra-*, cf. Av. *suxra-*, OP *θuxra-* pr. n.;
- Gil. *sal* “year”, cf. MP *sāl* < Ir. **tsard-*, cf. Av. *sarəd-*, OP *θard-*;
- Gil. *arsu* (*arusu*) “tear” < Ir. **atśru-ka-* by metathesis, cf. ManMP *asr*, Av. *asru-*, OInd. *áśru-*.

(b) Between vowels and after a vowel:

- Gil. *asudə* “calm”, cf. NP *āsudeh* < Ir. **ā-sāi-*, cf. Av. *ā-sāii-*;
- Gil. *pəs/z* “then, later”, cf. MP *pas* < Ir. **pasčā*, cf. Av. *pasca*, OP *pasā*, OInd. *paścā*.

(c) in the clusters **t̪ši* (at word beginning), **t̪š*, **t̪šu* (in the middle and at the beginning of a word), **t̪šm*:

- Gil. *siya* “black”, cf. MP *syā* < Ir. **t̪šiā̄ya-*, cf. Av. *siiāva-*, OInd. *śyāva*;
- Gil. *rast* “true, right, straight”, cf. MP *rāst* < Ir. **rāt̪šta-*, cf. Av. *rāšta-*, OP *rāsta-*;
- Gil. *sifid* “white”, cf. MP *spēd* < Ir. **t̪šuaita-*, cf. Av. *spaēta-*, OInd. *śveta-*;
- Gil. *asp/asb* “horse”, cf. MP *asp* < Ir. **at̪šua-*, cf. Av. *aspā-*, Med. **aspā-*, OP *asa-*, OInd. *aśva-*;
- Gil. *asəman* “sky”, cf. MP *asmān* < Ir. **at̪smān-*, cf. Av. *asman-*, OP *asman-*, OInd. *áśman-*.

(2) /s/ < Ir. **θr* at the beginning and in the middle of a word:

- Gil. *se* “three”, cf. MP *sě* < Ir. **θraīah*, cf. Av. *θraiō* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *pəsər* “son, boy”, cf. MP *pus* < Ir. **puθra-*, cf. Av. *puθra-*, OP *puča-*, OInd. *putra-* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *tasyan* “sadness, depressed situation”, cf. MP *tārīg*, *tārīk* < Ir. **tanθrija-ka-*, cf. Ir. **tanθra-* “darkness”, Av. *taθra-*, cf. *taθriia-* “dark”;
- Gil. *das* “sickle”, cf. MP *dās* < Ir. **dāθra-*, cf. OInd. *dātra-*.

(3) /s/ < Ir. **š* (rarely) in Persian loanwords:

- Gil. *xərs* ← NP *xers* < MP *xirs*, cf. Ir. *ṛša-*, Av. *arša-*;
- Gil. *dost* “friend” ← NP *dust* < MP *dōst*, cf. OP *dāuštar-*, cf. Ir. **džauš-* “to take pleasure in, rejoice in”, Av. *zaoš-*.

(4) /s/ < Ir. **t̪š*

- Gil. *savestən*, *sav-* “to rub”, cf. MP *sūdan*, NP *sudan* < Ir. **t̪šau-*, prs. stem *sāy-aia-*.

§ 18 Gilaki /š/

[PKYa 488- 489]

The phoneme /š/ in most cases goes back to Ir. **š*, **xš*, rarely to Ir., **fš̪*:

(1) /š/ < Ir. *š between vowels, after vowels, and also in the clusters *št, *fš, *šm, *šk:

- Gil. *šandən* “to spread, to scatter sow”, cf. MP *af-šāndan* < Ir. *šān- “to shake (down?)”;
- Gil. *goš* “ear”, cf. MP *gōš* < Ir. *gauša-, cf. Av. *gaoša-*, OP *gauša-*, OInd. *ghoša-* “sound”;
- Gil. *doš* “shoulder”, cf. *dōš* < Ir. *dauš-, cf. Av. *daos-*;
- Gil. *šutur* “camel”, cf. MP *uštar*, Av. *uštra-*;
- Gil. *pušt* “back”, cf. MP *pušt* < Ir. *pr̥sti-, cf. Av. *paršti-*, *paršta-*, OInd. *pr̥sti-* “rib”;
- Gil. *dərəfš* “banner”, cf. MP *drafš*, Av. *drafša-*;
- Gil. *xušk* “dry”, cf. MP *hušk* < Ir. *huška-, cf. Av. *huška-*, OP *uška-*.

(2) /š/ < Ir. *či at the beginning of a word before vowels in the words:

- Gil. *šad* “happy”, cf. MP *šād* < Ir. *čiāta-, cf. OAv. *šiiāta-*, OP *šiyāta-*;
- Gil. *šun* “to go”, cf. MP *šudan*, *šaw-* < Ir. *čjav-, cf. Av. *šiiav-*, OP *šiyav-*, OInd. *cyav-*.

(3) /š/ < Ir. *xš and *xšy:

(a) /š/ < Ir. *xš at the beginning and in the middle of a word:

- Gil. *šir* “milk”, cf. MP *šīr* < Ir. *xšīra-, cf. OInd. *kṣīra-*;
- Gil. *šab* “night”, cf. MP *šab* < Ir. *xšap-, cf. OP *xšap-*, OInd. *kṣap-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 353);
- Gil. *ištav-* prs.stem “to hear”, cf. MP *ă-šnaw-* < Ir. *xšnau-, OP *ă-xšnav-*;
- Gil. *bəxš-* prs. stem “to forgive”, cf. MP *abaxšāy-*, Av. *baxš-*;
- Gil. *ašti* “reconciliation”, cf. MP *ăštīh* < Ir. *axš-, cf. Av. *axš-*, cf. Av. *ăxšti-*.

(b) /š/ < Ir. *xšy:

- Gil. *šiš* “six”, cf. MP *šāš*, Av. *xšuuas*.

(4) /š/ < Ir. *fš at the beginning of a word before a vowel in the word:

- Gil. *šərm* “shame”, cf. MP *šarm* < Ir. *fšarma-, cf. Av. *fšarəma-*.

(5) /š/ < Ir. *s in the word:

- Gil. *šikar* “hunt”, cf. ManMP, Parth. *iškar-* < ‘škr-> < Ir. **skar-*, cf. Av. **skar-*, *skārāia̯at-raθa-* “chasing the chariot”.

(6) /š/ < Ir. *str

- Gil. *vaš* “grass, herb, weed”, cf. MP *wāš* < Ir. **yü̯astra-*, Av. *vāstra-* “pasture”.

§ 19 Gilaki /x/

[PKYa 489]

The phoneme /x/ goes back to Ir. *x, *h₂y. Examples:

(1) /x/ < Ir. *x:

(a) at the beginning of a word before a vowel and before *r:

- Gil. *xər* “donkey”, cf. MP *xar* < Ir. **xara-*, cf. Av. *xara-*, OInd. *khara-*;
- Gil. *xum* “pot”, cf. MP *xumb* < Ir. **xumba-*, cf. Av. *xumba-*, OInd. *kumbha-*;
- Gil. *xuros* “rooster” (Fum. *sugolə*), cf. MP *xrōs* < Ir. **xrautś-*, cf. Av. *xraos-* “cry out”.

(b) after vowels:

- Gil. *yax* “ice”, cf. NP *yax* < Ir. **aixa-*, cf. Av. *aēxa-*.

(c) in the consonant clusters *xt, *xr, *xm:

- Gil. *səxt* “difficult”, cf. MP *saxt* < Ir. **θaxta-* pst. ptcp. from **θanj-* “to pull, draw”, NP *saxt* (cf. Hasandust 1393: vol. 3, 1701; Cheung 2007: 391-92; PKYa differs);
- Gil. *čərx* “wheel”, cf. MP *čaxrag* < Ir. **čaxra-*;
- Gil. *tuxm* “seed”, cf. MP *tuhm* < Ir. **tauxman-*, cf. Av. *taoxman-*, OInd. *tokman-* “young blade of corn”.

(2) /x/ < MIr. *xw < Ir. *h₂y:

- Gil. *xab* “sleep”, cf. MP *xwāb* < Ir. **hyap-*, cf. Av. *xvap-* “to sleep”;
- Gil. *xaxur* “sister”, cf. MP *xwah* < Ir. **hyahar-*, cf. Av. *xvayhar-*, OInd. *svasar-*;
- Gil. *xu/xo* “oneself, own”, MP *xwad* < Ir. **hyatah*, cf. Av. *xvatō*, OInd. *svatas*;
- Gil. *xur-/xor-* prs. stem “to eat”, cf. MP *xwar-* < Ir. **hyar-*, cf. Av. *xvar-*;

- Gil. *xuš* “good”, cf. MP *xwaš*.

(3) In isolated cases /x/ < Ir. **h*:

- Gil. *xuk* “pig”, cf. MP *xūg* < Ir. **hū-ka-*, cf. Av. *hū-*;
- Gil. *xušk* “dry”, cf. MP *hušk* < Ir. **huška-*, cf. Av. *huška-*, OInd. *suška-*;
- Gil. *xon*, Fum. *xin* “blood”, cf. MP *xōn*, Av. *vohuna/ī-* (?).

(4) prosthetic /x/ is observed in:

- Gil. *xayə* “testicle” < **ājaka-* < Ir. **āuia-ka-*, Av. *āiam* > *aēm*;
- Gil. *xərs* “bear” ← NP *xers* < MP *xirs*, cf. Ir. *rša-*, Av. *arša-*.

§ 20 Gilaki /h/

[PKYa 489-90]

The phoneme /h/ goes back to Ir. **h*, **tś*, **θ* in the following cases:

(1) /h/ < Ir. **h* regardless of position:

- Gil. *har* “each”, cf. MP *har(w)* < Ir. **haruya-*, cf. Av. *hauruua-* “all, completely”, OP *haruva-*, OInd. *sarva-*;
- Gil. *hamə* “all”, cf. MP *hamāg* < Ir. **hama-ka-*, cf. Av. *hama-* “each”, OInd. *sama-*;
- Gil. *bəhar/vəhar* “spring”, cf. MP *wahār* < Ir. **uahāra-*, cf. Av. *vajhar-*, OP *vāhara-*;
- Gil. *vahəštən* “to permit, leave, abandon”, cf. MP *hištan* < Ir. **hardž-*, Av. *harəz-*, OP *hard-*.

(2) /h/ < Ir. **tś*, **ts* (Av. *s*, OP *θ*) between vowels:

(a) /h/ < Ir. **tś*:

- Gil. *da(h)* “ten”, cf. MP *dah* < Ir. **datša-*, cf. Av. *dasă*, OP **daθa°*, OInd. *daśa*;
- Gil. *a(h)u* “gazelle”, cf. MP *āhūg* < Ir. **ātšu-ka-*, cf. Av. *āsu-* “swift”, OInd. *āśu-*.

(b) /h/ < Ir. **ts*:

- Gil. *ma(h)i* “fish”, cf. MP *māhīg* < Ir. **mătsja-ka-*, cf. Av. *masiia-*, OInd. *matsya-*.

(3) /h/ < Ir. *θ

- Gil. *ra(h)* “way, road”, cf. MP *rāh* < Ir. **rāθa-*, cf. Av. *raθa-* “carriage”, OInd. *ratha-*;
- Gil. *me(h)man* “guest”, cf. MP *mehmān* < Ir. **maiθman-*, cf. Av. *miθ-* “to rest, dwell”, *maēθana-* “dwelling”.

(4) One should also note *hr* < Ir. *θr (NWIr. outcome, cf. above *s* < Ir. *θr under the influence of the Persian language):

- Gil. *ša(h)r* “city”, cf. MP *šahr* “land, country” < Ir. **xšaθra-*, cf. Av. *xšaθra-*, OP *xšaça-*, OInd. *kṣatra-*;
- Gil. *me(h)r* “love, affection”, cf. MP *mihr* < Ir. **miθra-*, cf. Av. *miθra-* (1) “contract, agreement” (2) “Mithra (the sun god)”, OInd. *mitra-* “friend”;
- Gil. *da(h)rə* “sickle”, cf. MP *dās* < Ir. **dāθra-*, cf. OInd. *dātra-* (Stilo 2001: 660).

(5) /h/ < Ir. *f between vowels is seen in the words:

- Gil. *də(h)an* “mouth”, cf. MP *dahǎn* < Ir. **zafān-*, cf. Av. *zafan-*, *zafar-*;
- Gil. *ko(h)* “mountain”, cf. MP *kōf* < Ir. **kaufa-*, cf. Av. *kaofa-*, OP *kaufa-*.

(6) In some cases /h/ goes back to Ir. *xr:

- Gil. *hən* “to buy”, cf. MP *xrīdan* < Ir. **xraiH-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 355; Stilo 2001: 660).

(7) Prosthetic /h/ is observed:

(a) at the beginning of a word before a vowel in the words:

- Gil. *(h)ašt* “eight”, cf. MP *hašt* < Ir. **aštā*, cf. Av. *ašta*, OInd. *aṣṭā*;
- Gil. *(h)aštad* “eighty”, cf. MP *haštād* < Ir. **aštāti-*, cf. Av. *aštāti-*;
- Gil. *(h)oš* “intelligence”, cf. NP *huš* < Ir. **uši-/auši-*, cf. Av. *uši-* (1) “ear”, (2) “ability to hear and understand correctly”, OP *uši-* “ear”;
- Gil. *(h)ič* “nothing”, cf. MP *ēč* < Ir. **aiua-čid*.

(b) at the end of the word after a vowel:

- Gil. *no(h)* “nine”, cf. MP *nō* < Ir. **naua-*, cf. Av. *nauua-*, OInd. *nava-*.

§ 21 Gilaki /v/

[PKYa 490-91]

The phoneme /v/ goes back to Ir. **yü*, **b*, **p* (through the intermediate stage **b*, i.e. *v* < **b* < Ir. **p*) in the following phonetic positions:

(1) /v/ < Ir. **yü*:

(a) at the beginning of a word before vowels (cf. /b/ < Ir. **yü* under the influence of the Persian language):

- Gil. *bəs/vəs* “enough”, cf. Parth. *was*, Ir. **yüatśa-* “wish, desire”, cf. Av. *vasō* “at will”, OP *vasai* “much”;
- Gil. *vastən* “to desire”, cf. Parth. *was* < Ir. **yüatś-*, Av. *vas-*;
- Gil. *vang* “cry”, cf. MP. *wāng*, P.Cl. *bāng* < Ir. **yüac-* “to say, speak”;
- Gil. *bəhar/vəhar* “spring”, cf. MP *wahār* < Ir. **yüahāra-*, cf. Av. *vayhar-*, OP *°vāhara-*;
- Gil. *bazi/vazi* “play”, cf. MP *wāzīg*;
- Gil. *v/bareš* “rain”, cf. MP *wārān* < Ir. **yüar-*, cf. Av. *vār-*;
- Gil. *v/bərg* “leaf”, cf. MP *warg* < Ir. **yüarka-*, cf. Av. *varəka-*;
- Gil. *bad/vad* “wind”, cf. MP *wād* < Ir. **yüata-*, cf. Av. *vāta-*, OInd. *vāta-*;
- Gil. *vašadən* “to open, loosen, free”, cf. MP *wišātan-* < Ir. **yüi-šāta-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 349);
- Gil. *vər* in *vər zadən* “to cross a shalllow river” < MIr. **wiðār*, cf. Parth. *widar-* [wiðar-], MP *widār* [wiðār] < *Ir. *yüi-* + *tar-*, Av. *tar-*, OP *tar-* “to go over, cross” (Geiger 1898-1901: 351);

(b) before *r*:

- Gil. *višta* “hungry”, cf. NP *gorosne, gošne* < Ir. **yürsna-ka-*. (Stilo 2001: 660).

(c) /v/ < Ir. **yü* between vowels:

- Gil. *jəvan* “young”, cf. MP *juwān* < Ir. **yüauān-*, cf. Av. *yauuān-*, OInd. *yuvan-*;
- Gil. *bivə* “widow”, cf. MP *wēwag* < Ir. **yüdayüā-*, cf. Av. *viðauuā-*, OInd. *vidhavā-*;
- Gil. *avir* “lost”, cf. MP *wīr* “memory, mind” < Ir. **yüira-*, Av. *°vira-* “perception, intelligence”.

(2) /v/ < Ir. *b between and after vowels:

(a) early change (up to the Middle Iranian period):

- Gil. *səvar* “rider” (SWIr. probably from Persian), cf. MP *aswār* cf. OP *asabāra-*.

§ 22 Gilaki /z/

[PKYa 491-92]

The phoneme /z/ goes back to Ir. *dž, *j, *č, *ž in the following phonetic positions:

(1) /z/ < Ir. *dž (SWIr. development: cf. *d* < *dž* under the influence of Persian.):

(a) at the beginning of a word before a vowel:

- Gil. *zəmin* “earth”, cf. MP *zamīg* < Ir. *džam-, cf. Av. *zam-*, OInd. *kṣam-*;
- Gil. *zəməstan* “winter”, cf. MP *zam*, *zamestān* < Ir. *džiam-, *džim-*, cf. Av. *ziiam-*, *zim-*, OInd. *him-a-* “cold, frost”;
- Gil. *zərd* “yellow”, cf. MP *zard* < Ir. *džarita-, cf. Av. *zairita-*, OInd. *harita-*;
- Gil. *zama* “son-in-law”, cf. MP *dāmād* “bridegroom” < Ir. *džāmātar-, cf. Av. *zāmātar-*, OInd. *jāmātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352; Stilo 2001: 660);
- Gil. *zən* “to give birth, bear”, *zay*, *zə* “child”, *zak* “baby, small child” (< Ir. *džāta-ka-) < Ir. *džan-, cf. Av. *zan-*, OInd. *jan-*.

(b) between vowels:

- Gil. *buz* “goat”, cf. MP *buz*, Av. *būza-*;
- Gil. *hizār* “thousand”, cf. MP *hazār* < Ir. *hazahra-, cf. Av. *hazajra-*, OInd. *sa-hasra-*.

(2) in *zəv-* < NWIr. *zb- < Ir. *džy-:

- Gil. *zəvan* “tongue”, cf. MP *uzwān* < Ir. *hidžyā-*ā*, cf. Av. *hizvā-*, OInd. *jihvā-*.

(3) /z/ < Ir. *z in the cluster *zd:

- Gil. *nəzdiq* “near”, cf. MP *nazdīk* < Ir. *nazd-*ī*, cf. Av. *nazdiō* “nearer” (< *nazdi-ia-), OInd. *nedīya-*.

(4) /z/ < Ir. **j* (SWIr. outcome under the influence of Persian):

(a) at the beginning of a word before a vowel:

- Gil. *zən* “women, wife”, cf. MP *zan* < Ir. **janī-*, cf. Av. *janī-*, OInd. *janī-*;
- Gil. *zəndə* “alive”, cf. MP *zīndag* < Ir. **jīvant-* + *-a-ka-, cf. Av. *juuant-*, OInd. *jīvant-*;
- Gil. *zə(h)r* “poison”, cf. MP *zahr* < Ir. **jaθra-* (mix of features: SWIr. *z* < **j*, but NWIr. *hr* < **θr*) from Ir. **jan-* “to strike, to kill”, cf. Av. *jan-*, OInd. *han-*.

(b) between vowels:

- Gil. *dəraz* “long”, cf. MP *drāz* < Ir. **drājīah-*, cf. Av. *drājah-* “length”, *drājīō* (*drājīah-*) “farther”.

(5) /z/ < Ir. *č between vowels (SWIr. outcome; cf. *j* < Ir. *č, NWIr. outcome):

- Gil. *roz* “day” (SWIr. outcome), cf. MP *rōz* < Ir. **rāčah-*, cf. Av. *raočah-* “light”, OP *raučah-*.

(6) /z/ < Ir. *ž (SWIr. outcome; cf. *j*, *ž* < Ir. *ž):

- Gil. *duzd/duz* “thief”, cf. MP *duz(d)*, Av. *duž-dā(ii)* “with a bad opinion, with a malicious intent”;
- Gil. *muzd* “fee”, cf. MP *mizd* < Ir. **mižda-*, cf. Av. *mīžda-* “wage, fee, reward, military reward”, OInd. *mīdha-*.

§ 23 Gilaki /ž/

[PKYa 492]

(1) The phoneme /ž/, found in a very small number of words, goes back to Ir. *ž (NWIr. outcome):

- Gil. *muždə* “good news” cf. NP *moždeh* < Ir. **mižda-ka-*, cf. Av. *mīžda-* “wage, fee, reward, military reward”.

§ 24 Gilaki /y/

[PKYa 492-93]

The phoneme /y/ goes back to Ir. *i, *d in the following phonetic positions:

(1) /y/ < Ir. **i*:

(a) between and after vowels:

- Gil. *dərya* “sea”, cf. MP *drayā(b)* < Ir. **d̥raīah-*, cf. Av. *zraīah-*, OP *drayah-*;
- Gil. *dayə* “nurse”, cf. MP *dāyag*, cf. Ir. **dāi-*, Av. *dā(ii)* “to care for”;
- Gil. *sayə* “shadow”, cf. MP *sāyag* < Ir. **sāia-ka-*, cf. Av. *a-saiia-* “without shadow”, OInd. *chāyā-* “shadow”.

(b) in the Ir. cluster **si*:

- Gil. *siya* “black”, cf. MP *syā* < Ir. **tśiāua-*, cf. Av. *siiāva-*, OInd. *śyāva*.

(c) in isolated cases at the beginning of a word before a vowel:

- Gil. *yozpələng* (*yoz* + *pələng*) “leopard”, cf. MP *yōz* “hunting leopard”, cf. Ir. **jaudž-* “to appear in restless movement”, cf. Av. *yaoz-*, OP *yaod-*.

(2) /y/ < Ir. **d* between or after vowels:

- Gil. *ayinə* “mirror” presumably from *Ir. **ā-dīana-*, cf. *Ir. *dī-*, *dai-* “to look, see”;
- Gil. *mo, moy* “hair”, cf. MP *mōy*, Parth. *mōd*, which makes it possible presumably to reconstruct *Ir. *mauda-*;
- Gil. *miyan* “middle”, cf. MP *mayān* < **mayyāna-* < *Ir. *madiāna-*, cf. Av. *maiδi-iāna-, maiδiāna-*.

(3) In some cases, there is a late transition /y/ < **d* < Ir. **t* between vowels:

- Gil. *pəyγām* “message” cf. MP *paygām* < Ir. **pati-gāma-*, Av. **paiti-yama-* (Nyberg 1964-1974: vol. 2, 149-50).

(4) In rare cases /y/ < Ir. **ui*:

- Gil. (*a)yə* “here”, (*u)yə” “there”, cf. OGil. **yā*, Parth. *wyāg*, MP *gyāg* < MIr. **wyāg* (see § 15.5).*

§ 25 Gilaki /γ/

[PKYa 493]

(1) The phoneme /γ/ goes back to Ir. **g* between and after vowels:

- Gil. *doroy* “lie”, cf. MP *drō* < Ir. **drauga-*, cf. Av. *draoga-, draoya-*, OP *drauga-*;
- Gil. *rowyən* “oil”, cf. MP *rōyn* < Ir. **raugna-*, cf. Av. *raoyna-* “butter”;

- Gil. *day* “hot”, cf. Ir. *dāg-, Av. *dag-*;
 - Gil. *mury* “chicken”, cf. Parth. *mury* “bird, cock” < Ir. *mṛga-, cf. Av. *mārya-*;
 - Gil. *ayuz* “walnut” < Ir. *ā-gauzā-, cf. MP *gōz*.
- (2) In addition, /γ/ in Arabic words from Ar. /γ/ or /q/:
- Gil. *yulam* “slave”, cf. Ar. *gulām*;
 - Gil. *sunduy* “coffer”, cf. Ar. *ṣandūq*;

§ 26 Gilaki /m/

[PKYa 493]

- (1) The phoneme /m/ goes back to Ir. **m* (and **Hm*) regardless of phonetic position:

(a) /m/ < Ir. **m*:

- Gil. *mar* “mother”, cf. MP *mādar* < Ir. *mātar-, cf. Av. *mātar-*, OP *mātar-*, OInd. *mātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
- Gil. *mən* “I”, cf. MP *man* < Ir. **mana* (gen. sg.) “of me”, cf. Av. *mana*, OP *manā* “of me, to me” (gen.-dat. sg.);
- Gil. *hamə* “all”, cf. MP *hamāg* < Ir. **hama-ka-*, cf. Av. *hama-* “each”, OInd. *sama-*;
- Gil. *dumb* “tail”, cf. MP *dum(b)* < Ir. **duma-*, cf. Av. *duma-* “tail”;
- Gil. *gərm* “warm”, cf. MP *garm* < Ir. **garma-*, cf. Av. *garəma-*, OP *garma°*;
- Gil. *asəman* “sky”, cf. MP *asmān* < Ir. **asmān-*, cf. Av. *asman-*, OP *asman-*, OInd. *ášman-*.

(b) /m/ < Ir. **Hm*:

- Gil. *vamištən* “to urinate”, cf. MP *mistan* < Ir. **Hmaidž-*, Av. *maēz-*.

§ 27 Gilaki /n/

[PKYa 493-94]

- (1) The phoneme /n/ goes back to Ir. **n* regardless of phonetic position:

- Gil. *nam* “name”, cf. MP *nām* < Ir. **nāman-*, cf. Av. *nāman-*, OP *nāman-*, OInd. *nāman-*;

- Gil. *tən* “body”, cf. MP *tan* < Ir. **tanū-*, cf. Av. *tanū-* “people, human-like”, OP *tanū-*;
- Gil. *pən̥j* “five”, cf. MP *panj* < Ir. **panča*, cf. Av. *panca*;
- Gil. *angušt* “finger”, cf. Parth. *angušt* < Ir. **angušta-*, cf. Av. *angušta-*;
- Gil. *rowyən* “oil”, cf. MP *rōyn* < Ir. **raugna-*, cf. Av. *raoyna-*.

§ 28 Gilaki /r/

[PKYa 494]

(1) The phoneme /r/ goes back to Ir. **r* (regardless of phonetic position):

- Gil. *rast* “true, right, straight, upright”, cf. MP *rāst* < Ir. **rātšta-*, cf. Av. *rāšta-*, OP *rāsta-*;
- Gil. *roz* “day” (SWIr. outcome), cf. MP *rōz* < Ir. **raučah-*, cf. Av. *raočah-*, “light”, OP *raučah-*;
- Gil. *abrар/bərar* “brother”, cf. MP *brādar* < Ir. **brātar-*, cf. Av. *brātar-*, OP *brā-*
tar-, OInd. *bhrātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
- Gil. *dor* “far, away”, cf. MP *dūr* < Ir. **dūra-*, cf. Av. *dūra-*, OInd. *dūra-*;
- Gil. *bərf/vərf* “snow”, cf. MP *wafra* < Ir. **uafra-*, cf. Av. *vafra-* (Giger 351).

One also observes:

2) /r/ < Ir. **rn*:

- Gil. *pər* “feather”, cf. MP *parr* < Ir. **parna-*, cf. Av. *parəna-*;
- Gil. *tər* “wet”, cf. NP *tar* < Ir. **tarna-*, cf. Av. *tauruna-*, OInd. *tárūna-* (Horn
1893: 85; Bartholomae 1904: 643).

(3) /r/ in (*h*)*r* < Ir. **θr* (NWIr. outcome):

- Gil. *ša(h)r* “city”, cf. MP *sahr* < Ir. **xšaθra-*, cf. Av. *xšaθra-*, OP *xšača-*;
- Gil. *zə(h)r* “poison”, cf. MP *zahr* < Ir. **žaθra-* (mix of features: SWIr. *z* < **j*, but
NWIr. *hr* < **θr*) from Ir. **jan-* “to strike, to kill”, cf. Av. *jan-*, OInd. *han-*.

§ 29 Gilaki /l/

[PKYa 494]

The phoneme /l/ goes back to Ir. *rd, *rdž, *rtš;

(1) /l/ < Ir. *rd, *rdž, rtš, rž, rz:

- Gil. *sal* “year”, cf. MP *sāl* < Ir. *tśard-, cf. Av. *sarəd-*, OP *θard-*;
- Gil. *bulənd* “high”, cf. MP *buland* < Ir. *bṛdž-ant-, cf. Av. *bərəzānt-*;
- Gil. *maləstən*, *mal-* “to rub”, cf. MP *muštan*, *māl-* < Ir. *mardž-, Av. *marəz-*;
- Gil. *palu*, *pali* “side, flank”, cf. Ir. *partšu-, cf. Av. *parəsu-*, *pərəsu-* “rib, side”;
- Gil. *aluy* “eagle”, cf. MP *āluh* < Ir. *ržifia-, cf. Av. *ərəzfiya-*, OP *rdufya-*.

(2) /l/ < Ir. *r:

- Gil. *guli*, *gulə* “throat” cf. Ir. *gar-, Av. *gar-* “to swallow”, *gar-* “throat”;
- Gil. *kəl* “bald” < Ir. *karuya-, cf. Av. *kauruua-*.

(3) /l/ < Ir. *xr:

- Gil. *səl* “wetlands, fishpond” (< *issal* < *stal), cf. NP *estal* beside usual *estaxr* < Ir. *staxra-, Av. *staxra-*;
- Gil. *čəl* “spinning wheel”, cf. MP *čaxrag* < Ir. *čaxra-, cf. Av. *čaxra-*, OInd. *cakra-*.

(4) /l/ < Ir. *r at the beginning of a word:

- Gil. *lojan*, *lojanak* “small window”, cf. NP *ruzan*, MP *rōzan* “window” < Ir. *raučana-, cf. Av. *raočana*, *raočina-* (Bartholomae 1904: 1489).

Mayrhofer (1989: 10) believes that both Indo-European */l/ and */r/ are continued in Proto-Iranian. Avestan lacked /l/ and Old Persian had /l/ as a marginal phoneme in foreign words (e.g. *Labnāna-* “Lebanon”). One may wonder whether words like *kəl* “bald” (cf. Latin *calvus*) and *lojan(ak)* “small window” (cf. Latin *lux* “light”) have Gil. *l* < Ir. *l (rather than *r) < Indo-European *l.

From Proto-Iranian to Gilaki

§ 30 Summary of phonological changes

[PKYa 495]

| Proto-Iranian consonants | At word beginning | In the middle of a word | | Notes |
|--------------------------|---|-------------------------|--|--|
| | | after vowels (and r) | after consonants | |
| * <i>t</i> | <i>t</i> | | <i>d</i> (after * <i>r</i> , * <i>n</i>) | |
| * <i>k</i> | <i>k</i> | <i>g</i> | <i>g</i> (inter- or post-vocalic position) | |
| * <i>č</i> | <i>č</i> | <i>z</i> j (rarely) | j (after * <i>n</i>) | |
| * <i>ǰ</i> | <i>ǰ</i> | <i>z</i> j (rarely) | | |
| * <i>u</i> | <i>v</i> <i>b</i> (by influence of Persian) <i>g</i> (before * <i>r</i>) | | | |
| * <i>s</i> | <i>s</i> | | | <i>iš</i> , <i>ši</i> (in the cluster * <i>sk</i>), <i>s</i> (in the clusters * <i>sp</i> , * <i>st</i>) |
| * <i>tš</i> | <i>s</i> | <i>s, h</i> | | |
| * <i>z</i> | <i>z, d</i> (by influence of Persian) | | | |
| * <i>dž</i> | <i>z, d</i> | <i>z</i> | | <i>l</i> (in the cluster * <i>rdž</i>) |
| * <i>ž</i> | | <i>z</i> ž (rarely) | | |
| * <i>hu</i> | <i>x</i> | | | |
| * <i>r</i> | <i>l</i> (in some cases), <i>r</i> | | | <i>r</i> (in the cluster * <i>rn</i>), (<i>h</i>) <i>r</i> (< *θ <i>r</i>), <i>l</i> (in the cluster * <i>rd</i>) |

§ 31 Consonant clusters

[PKYa 495-96]

Changes in consonant clusters (compared to the Iranian stage):

- (1) **ui* > **gy* > *j* at word beginning before vowels (cf. § 15.5);
- (2) **θr* > *hr* (NW) or *s* (under the influence of Persian) (cf. §§ 17.2, 20.4);
- (3) **fš* > *š* at the beginning of a word (cf. § 18.4);
- (4) **fš* > *fš* in individual words (cf. § 18.1);
- (5) **rz* (Av. *rz*, OP *rd*) > *l* (cf. § 29.1);
- (6) **xš* > *š* (cf. § 18.3a);
- (7) **dū* > *d* (Gil., Maz.) at the beginning of a word (cf. § 12.1);
- (8) **dū* > *b* (Fum.) at the beginning of a word (cf. § 11.6b);
- (9) **rn* > *r* (cf. § 28.1).

Other phonological changes

§ 32 Metathesis

[PKYa 496]

- (1) **fr* > *rf*:
 - Gil. *bərf/vərf* “snow” < Ir. **uafra-*, cf. Av. *vafra-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 351);
 - Gil. *julf* “deep”, cf. Parth. *žafr*, NP *žarf* < Ir. **jafra-*, Av. *jafra*.
- (2) **rx* > *xr*:
 - Gil. *čərx* “wheel”, *cəl* “spinning wheel” < Ir. **čaxra-*;
 - Gil. *surx* “red” < Ir. **tšuxra-*, cf. Av. *suxra-*.
- (3) **hr* > **xr* > **xl* > *rx*:
 - Gil. *zərx* “bitter”, *təlx* “bitter”.

§ 33 Loss of initial *a

[PKYa 496]

- (1) In the Middle or the early New Iranian period, as in Persian, initial **a* disappeared in Gilaki if one consonant followed it:

- Gil. *səng* “rock”, cf. MP *sang* < Ir. **atśanga-*, cf. Av. *asəŋga-*, OP *aθanga-*;
- Gil. *yad* “memory”, MP *ayād* < Ir. **abi-yāta-*.

(2) If there were two consonants after the initial **a*, this was preserved:

- Gil. *abr* “cloud”, cf. MP *abr* < Ir. **abra-*, cf. Av. *aβra-*, OInd. *abhra-*;
- Gil. *angušt* “finger”, cf. Parth. *angušt* < Ir. **angušta-*, cf. Av. *angušta-*;
- obviously for the same reason, the vowel /a/ was preserved in the 1st pl. personal pronoun Gil. *ama* “we” < Ir. **ahmākam*, **ahmāxam*, cf. Av. *ahmākəm*, OP *ahmāxam*.

§ 34 Loss of initial **h*

[PKYa 496-97]

(1) In a number of words (mainly beginning with the prefix. **ham-*), initial **h* was already dropped in the Middle (cf. Parthian) or early New Iranian period (cf. Persian):

- Gil. *ambar* “barn, warehouse” < Ir. **ham-* + **pār-* “to fill”;
- Gil. *agə* “if”, cf. MP *agar*, cf. Av. *hakərət* “once”, OP *hakaram*.

This process, apparently, remains alive at present, cf. Gil. *ham/am* (cf. enclitic *əm*) “too”, Gil. *hamra* “companion”, but Gil. *amra/amara* postposition denoting collaboration, instrumentality < **ham* + **rāh* “road” < Ir. **rāθa-*.

(2) Yet initial /*h*/ is preserved in most words. However, in my opinion /*h*/ is pronounced weakly in initial as well as internally position:

- Gil. *hamə* “all”;
- Gil. *hazār* “thousand” etc.

§ 35 Prosthetic and anaptyctic vowels

[PKYa 497]

(1) Gilaki, like Persian, does not allow the co-occurrence of two or more consonants at the beginning of a word. In those words, where it was observed in antiquity, in the New Iranian period a prosthetic vowel appeared, which is placed the initial consonant or (less often) before it (differently Geiger 1898-1901: 353):

- Gil. *setarə* “star” < MIr. **stārag*, cf. MP *stārag*, cf. Ir. **stār-*, cf. Av. *stār-*;
- Gil. *abrər/bərər* “brother” cf. MP *brād* < Ir. **brātar-*, cf. Av. *brātar-*, OP *brātar-*, OInd. *bhrātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
- Gil. *xuros* (loanword, cf. Fum. *sugolə*) “rooster” < OGil. **xurōs*, cf. Ir. **xrautš-*, Av. *xraos-* “to cry out” (Stilo 2001: 660).

§ 36 Loss of final unstressed vowels

[PKYa 497-98]

(1) The loss of final unstressed vowels, and sometimes even entire syllables, which began in all Western Iranian languages already long before the beginning of the Middle Iranian period, is reflected also in Gilaki. Examples:

- Gil. *zərd* “yellow”, cf. MP *zard* < Ir. **džarita-*, cf. Av. *zairita-*, OInd. *harita-*;
- Gil. *xər/xar* “donkey”, cf. MP *xar* < Ir. **xara-*, cf. Av. *xara*;
- Gil. *dar* “tree”, cf. MP *dār* < Ir. **dāru-*, cf. Av. *dāru-*, OP *dāru-* “wood” (Geiger 1898-1901: 355);
- Gil. *har* “each”, cf. MP *har(w)* < Ir. **harua-*, cf. Av. *hauruua-* “all, completely”, OP *haruva-*, OInd. *sarva*;
- Gil. *sər* “head” cf. MP *sar* < *Ir. *tśarah-*, Av. *sarah-*, OInd. *śiras-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 355).

§ 37 Treatment of *-ka-

[PKYa 497]

(1) Most words that ended with the suffix *-ka- (appended to vocalic stems), lost final *a in the Middle Iranian period and then, in the New Iranian period, changed *k into g, which was subsequently dropped in Gilaki:

- Gil. *ašəna/ašna* “familiar” < MIr. **āšnāg* (cf. MP *āšnāg*) < **āšnāk* < Ir. **ā-xšnā-ka-*, cf. Av., OP *xšnā-* “to know”;

- Gil. *setarə* “star”, cf. MP *stārag*, cf. Ir. **stār-*, cf. Av. *stār-*;
 - Gil. *abru* “eyebrow”, cf. MP *brūg* < Ir. **brūka-*, cf. Av. *bruuat-*, OInd. *bhrū-*;
- (2) However, in a number of words the suffix *-ka- was preserved in the form of -k, less often -g, joined with the original stem (see, for example, Gil. *xuk* “pig” < Ir. **hū-ka-*), or -k (with diminutive and endearment value, for example in *zak* “baby, small child” < Ir. **džāta-ka-* beside *zay, zə* “child” < Ir. **džāta-*).

§ 38 Loss of final consonants

[PKYa 498]

The tendency to drop consonants at word end is also observed today.

(1) In the position after vowels the following can be dropped:

(a) the consonant *d*:

- Gil. *zama* “son-in-law”, cf. MP *dāmād* “bridegroom” < Ir. **džāmātar-*, cf. Av. *zāmātar-*, OInd. *jāmātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352).

(b) the consonant *h*:

- Gil. *ra(h)* “way, road”, cf. MP *rāh* < Ir. **rāθa-*, cf. Av. *raθa-* “carriage”, OInd. *ratha-*;
- Gil. *ruba* “fox”, cf. MP *rōbāh* < Ir. **raupatśa-*, cf. OP **raupaθa-*, OInd. *lopāśa-*;
- Gil. *ko* “mountain”, cf. MP *kōf* < Ir. **kaufa-*, cf. Av. *kaofa-*, OP *kaufa-*.

(c) the consonants *z, y, γ*:

- Gil. *či/čiz* “thing, somewhat, something”;
- Gil. *ru* “face” (< **rōy* < **rauda-* “person”, Av. *raoða-*);
- Gil. *mo/moy* “hair”, MP *mōy*, Parth. *mōd* < *Ir. *mauda-*.

(2) In the position after consonants the following can be dropped:

(a) the consonant *d* (after *n, z*):

- Gil. *čən/čənd* “how many, several”;
- Gil. *duzd/duz* “thief”.

(b) the consonant *h* (in Arabic words):

- Gil. *sol* “peace, consent” < Ar. *sulh*;

- Gil. *sob* “morning” < Ar. *subḥ*.
- (c) the consonant *t* (after *s, f*):
- Gil. *haf/haft* “seven”;
- Gil. *das/dast* “hand”.

§ 39 Internal loss of sounds and contractions

[PKYa 498-99]

(1) “The loss of individual sounds and whole syllables, the contraction and reduction of words and some of the most commonly used phrases were observed in virtually all Iranian languages at all stages of development, beginning in the late Old Iranian period. In Gilaki, ... where there was no restraining influence fixed in the writing of a strict literary norm (as, for example, in Persian), this process occurred (and occurs) especially actively. Leaving aside the cases of early, long-standing loss of sounds and contractions, most of which are in common with Persian, we will focus here on the later phenomena that are specific to [Gilaki]”¹¹. (my translation, p.498, PKYa)

These include:

- (a) the loss of the consonants *f, x* in the clusters *ft, xt* in Eastern Gilaki as in Māzandarāni, Šāmerzādi and the Velatru dialect:
- EGil. *gutən* “to say”, cf. WGil. *guftən* (Geiger 1898-1901: 353; Stilo 2001: 660);
- EGil. *katən* “to fall”, cf. WGil. *kaftən* (Stilo 2001: 660);
- EGil. *pətən* “to cook”, cf. WGil. *pəxtən* (Geiger 1898-1901: 353; Stilo 2001: 660);

11 Выпадение отдельных звуков и целых слогов, стяжение и сокращение слов и некоторых наиболее употребительных словосочетаний наблюдалось фактически во всех иранских языках на всех этапах развития, начиная с позднего древнеиранского периода. В гилянском, мазандеранском, шамерзади и диалекте Велатру, где отсутствовало сдерживающее влияние закрепленной в письменности строгой литературной нормы (как, например, в персидском), этот процесс проявился (и проявляется) особенно активно. Оставляя в стороне случаи раннего, давнего выпадения звуков и стяжений, в большинстве своем общих с персидским, мы сосредоточим здесь внимание на явлениях более поздних, характерных именно для данных языков.

- EGil. *sutən* “to burn”, cf. WGil. *suxtən* (Geiger 1898-1901: 353; Stilo 2001: 660).
- (b) loss of *h* before consonants:
 - Gil. *šar/šahr* “city”, cf. MP *šahr* “land, country”< Ir. **xšaθra-*, cf. Av. *xšaθra-*, OP *xšača-*, OInd. *kṣatra-*;
 - Gil. *palu/pahlu, pali* “side, flank”, cf. Ir. **partśu-*, cf. Av. *parəsu-, pərəsu-* “rib, side”;
 - Gil. *meman/mehman* “guest”, cf. MP *mehmān* < Ir. **maiθman-*, cf. Av. *miθ-* “to rest, dwell”, *maēθana-* “dwelling”.
- (c) loss of *g* (in the consonant cluster *rzg*) in the word:
 - *vərza* “ox” (< **varzgāv*, cf. NP *varzā*).
- (d) loss of the sequences **ah*, **ih* in the words:
 - Gil. *čar* “four”, cf. MP. *čahār* < Ir. **čaθuār-*, cf. Av. *čaθβār-*, OInd. *catvār-*;
 - Gil. *čel/čehel* “forty”;
 - Gil. *bona* “pretext, excuse” < OGil. **bahāna*, cf. ClP. *bahāna*.
- (e) loss of the sequence **ir* in the words:
 - Gil. *bəj* “rice” (cf. NP *berenj*);
 - Gil. *gift-* pst. stem “to take” < **grift-* (as in MP) or **girift-* (as in ClP.);
- (f) loss of the sequence **av* in the words:
 - Gil. *tanəst-* pst. stem “can” (< **tavānist-*, cf. Cl. NP) (Geiger 1898-1901: 354);
- (g) loss of the sequence **da* from Ir. **ta* in the words:
 - Gil. *fadə* “he/she gave” < **fra dātā* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
 - Gil. *abrar/bərar* “brother”, cf. MP *brādar* < Ir. **brātar-*, cf. Av. *brātar-*, OP *brā-**tar-*, OInd. *bhrātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
 - Gil. *mar* “mother”, cf. MP *mādar* < Ir. **mātar-*, cf. Av. *mātar-*, OP *mātar-*, OInd. *mātar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
- (h) loss of the sequence *āda*:
 - *nan* “to put” < **ni'a'ən* < OGil. **ni-hādan* (by [1] elision of *i* and [2] contraction of *a'ə*);

(i) *e* < **ida*, **īda* from Ir. **ita*, **īta* in words:

- Gil. *per* “father”, cf. MP *pidar* obl. < Ir. **pitar-*, cf. Av. *pitar-*, OP *pitar-* (Geiger 1898-1901: 352);
- Gil. *den* “to see”, cf. MP *dīdan*.

§ 40 Univerbation

[PKYa 499]

(1) Contraction and merging of two words into one can be seen in the following cases:

- Gil. *bálavə* ← NP *be* ‘*alāve* “in addition”;
- Gil. *ato* “so” < *a* “this” + NP *towr* “manner, way”;
- Gil. *čuto/čutor* “what” < *če* “what” + NP *towr* “manner, way”.

§ 41 Assimilation of vowels

[PJa 499-500]

(1) In Gilaki, there is a phenomenon of regressive assimilation of vowels. Examples:

- Gil. *numunə* “sample” < **nəmunə* < **namūna* (cf. NP *nemune*) (< Ir. **ni-* + *mā-*);
- *zimin/zəmin* “land” < **zamīn* (cf. NP *zamin*);
- *subuk* “light” < **səbuk* < **sabuk* (cf. NP *sabok*).

(2) This is most clearly and naturally manifested in verbs, where vowels of preverbs and prefixes, as well as of negative particles, are fully or partially assimilated to the vowel of the stem; in other words, if the stem vowel is *ə* or *a*, prefix changes to *bə-*, *nə-*, *də-*, if the first vowel of stem is *i*, the prefix changes to *bi-*, *ni-*, *di-*, and if the first vowel of stem is *o* or *u*, prefix changes to *bu-*, *nu-*, *du-*:

(a) assimilation of the prefix *bə-*:

- *bəkəš* “drag!”;
- *binivis* “write!”;
- *bukun* “do!”.

(b) assimilation of the negative particle *nə-*:

- *nə-kəš* “don’t drag!”;

- *ni-nivis* “don’t write!”;
- *nu-kun* “don’t do!”.

(c) assimilation of the preverb *də-*:

- *dəkəftən* “to fall”;
- *dičən* < **dəčidən* “to assemble, stack”;
- *dibištən* “to fry”;
- *dukudən* “wear”.

§ 42 Assimilation of consonants

[PKYa 500]

(1) *s* < *st*:

- Gil. *isən* < **istən* “to stand” (Geiger 1898-1901: 354);
- Gil. *vəsi* < **vassi* < *vast* “for the sake of”;
- Gil. *zəməsan* < **zəməssan* < *zəməstan* “winter”;
- Gil. *das* < **dass* < *dast* “hand”;
- Gil. *davassən* < **dabastən* < *bastan* “to close, fasten” (Geiger 1898-1901: 354).

(2) *dd* < *nd*

- Gil. *davaddəm* “I close” < **dabandəm* < *bandam* “to close, fasten” (Geiger 1898-1901: 354);
- Gil. *kadən* < *kandən* “to dig”;
- Gil. *-id* “3 pl. personal ending” < **-ind*, MIr. *-ēnd.

§ 43 Dissimilation of consonants

- Gil. *fan-dərəstən* “to see” < **far-dərəstən* < **fra-dərəstən* (dissimilation at a distance).

Texts: transcription

Text 1: [Zanxazi]

1.1 Zai ki bum, mi per bumord. 1.2 Mi mar mađbor bovust ke an-i un-i kalfati bokuno. 1.3 Marə sabeyə ayam ĥaxtara nušə. 1.4 Mi xaxur ji mi pillətar bu, mi dasta gifti marə bordi bijarsar. 1.5 Mar ji xoruxsan dakafti bijarə duron. 1.6 Mayrebi xu baškafto janə mijə ami be xano. 1.7 Itə ruz – vazatə čillə bu – hava adama dimpara usujani. 1.8 Xuk xu gomarkallo ji birun nami, mađbur bom buşam ruxana je av vavarəm. 1.9 Moye vagerdestən Saleya bidəm, maştı Ali aya pezar zakə. 1.10 Ta čan salə piš itə nimče zaki bu, bozorgə bovustovo, itə xuşgelə rəi. 1.11 Hato, ki marə fandərəst, xu čuma kalasə kodu. 1.12 Itə var anə hai digadəm, ingar kiška ro ab fokuni. 1.13 Do mahə bad am xu perə dasa bigift o bomo ami xano zanxazi. 1.14 Anə mar o amjan-əm aşanə mijə bomovəd. 1.15 Mi mar marə vanversi aha fadi.

Text 2: [Saxtə zindigi]

2.1 Kojə čillə bu ki Hadiya bezastəm. 2.2 Varf čačpareya bigiftavə. 2.3 Sale bikar bu, ami baranj am tomama bostuvu. 2.4 Marə hičvaxt ĥaxtara nušə ita sal bad dovarə šakam usadəm. 2.5 Hato hato šiš ta šakam bezastəm. 2.6 Zakan tazu az ab o gil virün karə amandovəd ke Sale bumord. 2.7 Kar bogudəm ibče ibče pol jamə gudəm, zakan hanuz nimče bud.

Text 3: [Səfər bə Maşad]

3.1 Dah salə piš bişim Maşad, xoruxsan faresim. 3.2 Ti amjan o amjanmardə mi mijə bušuvom. 3.3 Itə utay fagiftim. 3.4 Damə zor bərən bişim, arəoreyə begerdətim. 3.5 Mi čuma vaza gudəm, bidəm mi pola beyabəstəd. 3.6 Hičči di naştim. 3.7 Ti amjan agi xu marə pol navardovi, vasi küna küna vagardesdəvim. 3.8 Se röz Maşad besim. 3.9 Xaili amarə xoş bomu. 3.10 Jayelan-i ivčə xardoxaşal fagiftəm. 3.11 Moye

vagardestən ami otobus xarabə bovost: kolli moattali bakaşim. 3.12 Az un be bad di Maşad nuşəm. 3.13 Mi dil xayə i var di buşəm.

Text 4: [Aid]

4.1 Aid ki ami ami mar ama-ri yaşangə libas vadoxti, tazu galuš hi. 4.2 Aidə röz ki busti, uşonə dogudim, şim mardom xano. 4.3 Amarə aidi fadid. 4.4 Mi mar amə-ri aidə şab halva o laku čegadi. 4.5 Ta se röz az aid arəura je ame-ri adam ami. 4.6 Ami jan di eškafti aşan -i palaxorušt čegadim. 4.7 Čan ruz ki az aid ši, mi mar ami dasa gifti amarə bordi Rašt. 4.8 Rašt u zamat alana namanesti. 4.9 Šon ta oyə xaili saxt bu, ba asp o γatil vasi bişə bim ta oyə. 4.10 Aval şim ami xala xano, do röz aşanə xano isim. 4.11 Do röz am şim ami pillə dayi xano. 4.12 Ami dayi u ayam tazu radiyo bi-hevud. 4.13 Marə jaxtara nuşə ami daizakana mijə bişim malegardı. 4.14 Šahrə jayə-lan yaşangə libas dogudid. 4.15 Aşanə zanakan gula manestid. 4.16 Hame jayə fanderestim. 4.17 Itə var-am jayelana mijə bişim palaxuri: či kaifī amarə badi! 4.18 Bad az čan röz dovaro vasi vagerdestavim ami dahat: marə yama gifti.

Text 5: [Xando]

5.1 Donya dö zar niyarzə. 5.2 Hasə karə hana fikrə kudandavəm. 5.3 Hato vasi jan badaxim axare am hiči! 5.4 Čan salə piš – tarə yad nayə – ti amu say bu: šiš nafara harif bu. 5.5 Itə şab buxoftə, di sob vinrišt. 5.6 Zindigi itə nafas o, šu bijir, di bujür nayə. 5.7 Ami dila xuşa godim be ami malomanal, bextar an a ki ami dil hato xuš bamanə. 5.8 Maştə Ahmad tarə yad ayə? xuda ana biyamarzə 5.9 Dayam anə gazə laxo vaz bu, mardom ana kosxul danestid. 5.10 I var ana vaversəm ke čarə hato ti gazə laxo vaz ə, te ri aib u. 5.11 Xuri niştavə gifto, ta in ke i var hato xandu daškani, marə vagardastə bugoftə to itə kar bextar ji xandu dari marə bugo.

Texts: translation

Text 1: [Marriage Proposal]

1.1 When I was a child, my father died. 1.2 My mother was forced to serve for such and such a person. 1.3 I do not forget the old times¹². 1.4 My sister was older than me: she took my hands and took me to the rice field. 1.5 My mother would hurry into the rice field since cock crow. 1.6 She would return home at sunset with her dead body. 1.7 One day – it was midwinter – ¹³ the weather was so cold to burn the cheek¹⁴. 1.8 The pig did not get out of its briar patch, but I was forced to go and bring water from the river. 1.9 While returning (home), I saw Sāleh, the young son of Mr [Mašti]¹⁵ Ali. 1.10 Until a few years before, he was just a boy, (but now) he had grown up, [he had become] a handsome guy. 1.11 As soon as he looked at me, he opened his eyes wide. 1.12 I once reproached him, [but] it was like pouring water on a chick¹⁶. 1.13 Therefore, two month later, he took his father hands and came to our house for proposing marriage. 1.14 His mother and his paternal aunt had also come with them. 1.15 My mother did not ask me [and] accepted [the proposal].

12 In the translation, the round brackets (-) contain useful additions to make clear the meaning, while the square brackets [-] enclose the corresponding redundant Gilaki words in English.

13 The term *čillə* indicates a specific periods of days, originally forty days. *Avvalə čillə* is the first 40 days of winter (lit. “first *čillə*”), *vazatə čillə* is the second forty days of winter (lit. “middle *čillə*”) and *koje čillə* (lit. “little *čillə*”) is the last ten days of winter. The term may have different meanings in other regions of Iran.

14 An expression used to refer to very cold weather.

15 This title is used for one who has made the pilgrimage to Mašhad. It can be used as a general term of respect.

16 An expression that expresses the futility of an action.

Text 2: [Hard Life]

2.1 It was the end of the winter when I gave birth to Hādī. 2.2 The snow had covered the basin near the well (in the yard). 2.3 Sāleh was jobless (and) our rice had been used up too. 2.4 I never forget that I got pregnant again one year later. 2.5 In the same way, I gave birth six times. 2.6 The children were no chicken¹⁷ when their father (Sāleh) passed away. 2.7 I worked [and] saved money little by little, the children were still young.

Text 3: [Trip to Mašhad]

3.1 Ten years ago, we went to Mašhad¹⁸ (and) we arrived at cock crow. 3.2 I had gone with your paternal aunt and her husband. 3.3 We got a room. 3.4 Near midday, we went out, we strolled here and there. 3.5 I opened my eyes and I saw that my money had been pickpocketed. 3.6 I did not have a penny anymore. 3.7 If your paternal aunt did not bring money with her, I should have returned right back home. 3.8 We stayed three days in Mašhad. 3.9 We really liked it. 3.10 I bought some nice little something for the guys. 3.11 While returning home, our bus broke down: we waited a lot. 3.12 From then on, I have not gone to Mašhad anymore. 3.13 I would like to go to Mašhad once more.

Text 4: [New Year]

4.1 When the New Year arrived, our mother would sew new clothes and buy new *galuš*¹⁹ for us. 4.2 On the first day of New Year, (we children) would wear them and (we children) would visit acquaintances. 4.3 They would give us New Year's gifts.

17 An expression indicates growth during the period that includes childhood and adolescence and precedes reaching maturity.

18 A holy city in the northeast of Iran and capital of the province of Xorāsān-e Ražavi.

19 Waterproof plastic shoes.

4.4 On New Years eve, my mother would prepare us *halva*²⁰ and *laku*²¹. 4.5 For three days after New year, guests would come to us from here and there. 4.6 We were quiet dead on our feet for preparing rice and stew. 4.7 Several days after New Year, my mother would take our hand and take us to Rašt. 4.8 At that time, Rašt was not like now. 4.9 It was very difficult to go there, we had to go there by horse and mule. 4.10 First, we would go to the house of our maternal aunt (and) stay at their home for two days. 4.11 We would also go at our old maternal uncle's for two days. 4.12 In those days, at our maternal uncle's, they had bought a new radio. 4.13 I do not forget that we went sightseeing with our cousins. 4.14 City guys were wearing beautiful dresses. 4.15 Their women were like flowers. 4.16 We visited all (sightseeing) spots. 4.17 Once we also went to a restaurant with the guys: what a pleasure! 4.18 After a several days, we had to return to our village: I was so sad!

Text 5: [Laugh]

5.1 The world is not worth two pennies. 5.2 Now I was making just this thought. 5.3 We must suffer in this way (and) also finally nothing (remains)! 5.4 Several years ago – you do not remember – your paternal uncle was healthy: he could beat six persons. 5.5 One night he fell asleep (and) he did not wake up in the morning anymore. 5.6 Life is a breath, it goes down and it does not come up anymore. 5.7 We gave our heart to our money and property, (and) it would be better to be happy with this. 5.8 Do you remember Mr [Mašti] Ahmad, may God forgive him? 5.9 He would always chuckle, the people would consider him a crackpot. 5.10 Once I asked him: “Why do you chuckle so? It is a fault [on your side]. 5.11 He pretended not to hear (me), till that he suddenly burst into a laugh, he turned to me (and) said: “If you have something better than laughing, tell me!”.

20 Traditional New Year sweet made with white flour, sugar, saffron and rose water.

21 Local bread made with rice flour, saffron, oil, turmeric and eggs.

Texts: interlinear analysis

Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEx version 8.3) is a tool developed by SIL International (Dallas) to help field linguists with elicitation of language materials and information, interlinearising texts and dictionary creation and publication. It consists of components designed to organize information for a given language, such as its lexicon, grammar and texts. The broad categories of language organization form separate component of the program: *Lexicon*, *Text & Words* and *Grammar*. Each of these component parts consists of a number of options and data fields, most of which can be customized to the needs of a given language project.

In the *Text & Words* component, corrections or modifications of a text must be done in the *Baseline* view, which displays the texts but does not show the grammatical analysis or the lexical information stored in the data base and accessible in the *Analyze* view of the *Text & Words* component. So, while working on interlinearization in the *Analyze* view, I had to make changes to the underlying text (e.g. punctuation or spelling errors) directly in the *Baseline* view. In the *Analyze* view, each word is represented in seven layers: word, morphemes, lexical entries, lexical glosses, lexical grammar information, word glosses and word category.

In the *Lexicon* component, there are representations of the lexical data, that can be used in the text analysis in the *Analyze* view of the *Text & Words* component. It is also possible to choose whether a given variant is a dialectal variant, a free variant, an irregularly inflected variant, or a spelling variant.

The *Grammar* component enables one to define the grammatical categories, inflectional templates, phonological information and other details needed for the description of a given language. At the end, the stored texts, linguistic information and grammatical and lexical analysis is used by the program to generate different outputs. Thus, after I input the texts and the relevant linguistic analysis in the various components of FLEx as needed, the program generated for me, from the modeled knowledge stored in the database: (1) a grammatical sketch; (2) a printout of the interlinearized texts; and (3) a glossary to the texts. These outputs are presented in the fol-

lowing pages as they were produced by FLEx, with no additional editing. That is why, in the grammatical sketch, some inflectional templates lack a name or some definitions are missing, since providing them would have resulted in redundancy.

In this chapter, the interlinear analysis of the single words in a sentence consists of the following lines:

word

morpheme analysis
 morpheme lexical entry/ies
 morpheme gloss(es)
 morpheme grammatical category/ies

word gloss(es)

word grammatical category

Free translation [at the end of the interlinear analysis of each sentence]

Morpheme lexical entries, morpheme glosses and morpheme grammatical categories form the basis of the “Glossary” in the last chapter. Abbreviations of grammatical categories can be found in the “Sketch of Gilaki grammar” in next chapter.

Text 1: [*Zanxazi* “Marriage proposal”]

| | | | | | | |
|-----|------------|-----------|--------------------|---|-----------|-------------------|
| 1.1 | <i>Zai</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>bum</i> | , | <i>mi</i> | <i>per</i> |
| | zai | ki | b -um | | mi | per |
| | zai | ki | bu -əm+FR. VAR. OF | | mən | pər+DIAL. VAR. OF |
| | child | when | be.pst 1sg | | I.GEN | father |
| | n | advlizer | Pst.ind v:SubAgr | | pers | n |
| | child | when | be.pst | | I.gen | father |
| | n | advlizer | Pst.ind | | pers | n |

bumord0

| | | |
|-------|------------------|-----------------|
| bo- | mord | -0 |
| bə- | murd+FR. VAR. OF | -0 ₁ |
| pst | die.pst | 3sg.pst |
| v:Pst | Pst.ind | Pst.ind:SubAgr |

die.pst

Pst.ind

When I was child, my father died.

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|------------|----------------|----------------|------------------------|----------------|
| 1.2 | <i>Mi</i> | <i>mar</i> | <i>majbor</i> | <i>bovust0</i> | | <i>ke</i> |
| | mi | mar | majbor | bo- vust | -0 | ke |
| | mən | mar | majbor | bə- bust | -0 ₁ | ki+FR. VAR. OF |
| | I.GEN | mother | forced | pst become.pst | 3sg.pst | that |
| | pers | n | adj | v:Pst Pst.ind | Pst.ind:SubAgr | advlizer |
| | I.gen | mother | forced | become.pst | | that |
| | pers | n | adj | Pst.ind | | subordconn |
| | <i>ani</i> | <i>uni</i> | <i>kalfati</i> | <i>bokuno</i> | | . |
| | ani | uni | kalfati | bə- kun | -o | |
| | an ₁ | un | kalfati | bə- kun | -ə ₁ +DIAL. | VAR. OF |
| | this.GEN | that.GEN | housekeeping | sbjv do.prs | 3sg.sbjv | |
| | dem | dem | n | v:Sbjv Prs.ind | Sbjv:SubAgr | |
| | this | that | housekeeping | do.prs | | |
| | dem | dem | n | vt | | |

My mother was forced to serve for such and such a person.

| | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-----------------------|--|-------------|----------------|
| 1.3 | <i>Marə</i> | <i>sabeyə</i> | | <i>ayam</i> | <i>jaxtara</i> |
| | marə | sabey -ə | | ayam | jaxtara |
| | mən | sabey -ə ₆ | | ayam | jaxtara |
| | I.ACCDAT | past attr | | time | forgotten |
| | pers | adj adj:Any | | n | adj |
| | I.accdat | past | | time | forgotten |
| | pers | adj | | n | adj |

nušə

| | | |
|-----------------|---------|-----------------|
| nu- | šo | -ə |
| nə-+FR. VAR. OF | šo | -ə ₁ |
| not | go.prs | 3sg.sbjv |
| v:Any | Prs.ind | Sbjv:SubAgr |

not.go.prs

Prs.ind

I do not forget the old times.

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|--------------|----------------|-----------|-----------------|
| 1.4 | <i>Mi</i> | <i>xaxur</i> | <i>jí</i> | <i>mi</i> | <i>pillətar</i> |
| | mi | xaxur | jí | mi | pillə -tar |
| | mən | xaxur | jə+FR. VAR. OF | mən | pillə -tar |
| | I.GEN | sister | than | I.GEN | old cppt |
| | pers | n | prep | pers | adj adj>adj |
| | I.gen | sister | than | I.gen | old.cppt |
| | persgen | n | prep | persgen | adj |

| | | | | |
|-------------|----------------------|--------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>bu0</i> | | <i>mi</i> | <i>dasta</i> | <i>gifti</i> |
| bu | -0 | mi | dast -a | gift -i |
| bu | -0 ₁ | mən | dast -a ₁ | gift -i ₁ |
| be.pst | 3sg.pst | I.GEN | hand acc-dat | take.pst |
| Pst.ind | Pst.ind:SubAgr | pers | n n:(Case) | Pst.ind Impf:SubAgr |
| be.pst | | I.gen | hand.acc-dat | take.impf |
| Pst.ind | | persgen | n | Impf |
| <i>marə</i> | <i>bordi</i> | <i>bijar</i> | <i>sar</i> | . |
| marə | bord -i | bijar | sar | |
| mən | bord -i ₁ | bijar | sar | |
| I.ACCDAT | take.pst | 3sg.impf | rice field | to |
| pers | Pst.ind | Impf:SubAgr | n | postp |
| I.accdat | take.impf | | rice field | to |
| persaccdat | Impf | | n | postp |

My sister was older than me: she took my hand and took me to the rice field.

| | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1.5 | <i>Mar</i> | <i>ji</i> | <i>xorusxan</i> | <i>dakafti</i> |
| | mar | ji | xorusxan | dakaft -i |
| | mar | ɟø+FR. VAR. OF | xorusxan | dakaft -i ₁ |
| | mother | since | cock crow | hurry.pst |
| | n | prep | n | 3sg.impf |
| | mother | since | cock crow | Pst.ind |
| | n | prep | n | Impf:SubAgr |
| | <i>bijara</i> | <i>duron</i> | . | |
| | bijar -ə | duron | | |
| | bijar -ə ₇ | duron | | |
| | rice field gen | into | | |
| | n n:(Case) | postp | | |
| | rice field | into | | |
| | n | postp | | |

My mother would hurry into the rice field since cock crow.

| | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---|-----------------|-------------|
| 1.6 | <i>Mayreb</i> | = | <i>i</i> | <i>xu</i> |
| | mayreb | | =i | xu |
| | mayreb | | =i ₂ | xu |
| | sunset | | =deic | oneself.sg |
| | n | | nomprt | refl |
| | sunset | | deic | oneself.gen |
| | n | | nomprt | refl |

| | | | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|-------|
| <i>baškafto</i> | aškaft | -o | jan | -ə | mijə |
| b- | eškaft+FR. VAR. OF | -ə₂+FR. VAR. OF | jan | -ə₇ | mijə |
| bə- | | | | | |
| pst.ptcp | break.pst | ptcp.pst | body gen | | with |
| Pst.ptcp:(Pst.ptcp) | Pst.ind | Pst.ptcp:SubAgr | n | n:(Case) | postp |
| break.pst.ptcp | | | body | | with |
| ptcp | | | n | | postp |

| | | | |
|------------|-------------|----------------|------------------|
| <i>ami</i> | <i>be</i> | <i>xano</i> | . |
| am | -i | be | xano |
| am₂ | -i₁ | bə+FR. VAR. OF | xanə+FR. VAR. OF |
| come.pst | 3sg.impf | to | home |
| Pst.ind | Impf:SubAgr | prep | n |
| come.impf | | to | home |
| Impf | | prep | n |

She would return home at sunset with her dead body.

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------|-------------------|------------|---|-------------------|
| 1.7 | <i>I</i> | <i>tə</i> | <i>ruz</i> | - | <i>vazatə</i> |
| | i | tə | ruz | | vazat |
| | i | ta₁+DIAL. VAR. OF | ruz | | vasat+FR. VAR. OF |
| | one | clf | day | | mid |
| | cardnum | nclf | n | | adj |
| | one | clf | day | | mid |
| | cardnum | clf | n | | adj |

| | | | | |
|----------------|------------------------|---|-------------|----------------|
| <i>čillə</i> | <i>bu₀</i> | - | <i>hava</i> | <i>adama</i> |
| čillə | bu -0 | | hava | adam -a |
| čillə | bu -0₁ | | hava | adam -a₁ |
| part of winter | be.pst 3sg.pst | | weather | person acc-dat |
| n | Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr | | n | n:(Case) |
| part of winter | be.pst | | weather | person |
| n | Pst.ind | | n | n |

| | | |
|----------------|---------------------|---|
| <i>dimpara</i> | <i>usuđani</i> | . |
| dimpar -a | usuđan -i | |
| dimpar -a₁ | usuđan -i₁ | |
| cheek acc-dat | burn.pst 3sg.impf | |
| n n:(Case) | Pst.ind Impf:SubAgr | |

| | |
|-------|-----------|
| cheek | burn.impf |
| n | Impf |

One day – it was midwinter – the weather was so cold to burn the cheek.

| | | | | | |
|-----|--|------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1.8 | <i>Xuk</i> | <i>xu</i> | <i>gomarkallo</i> | <i>ji</i> | <i>birun</i> |
| | xuk | xu | gomarkallo | ji | birun |
| | xuk | xu | gomarkallo | јə+FR. VAR. OF | birun |
| | pig | oneself.sg | briar patch | from | out |
| | n | refl | n | postp | adv |
| | pig | oneself.gen | briar patch | from | out |
| | n | refl | n | postp | adv |
| | <i>nami</i> | | <i>majbur</i> | <i>bom</i> | |
| | n- | am | -i | majbur | b -om |
| | nə- | am ₂ | -i ₁ | majbur | bu -əm+FR. VAR. OF |
| | not | come.pst | 3sg.impf | forced | be.pst 1sg |
| | v:Any | Pst.ind | Impf:SubAgr | adj | Pst.ind v:SubAgr |
| | come.impf | | | forced | be.pst |
| | Impf | | | adj | Pst.ind |
| | <i>bušam</i> | | <i>ruxana</i> | <i>je</i> | |
| | bu- | šo | -am | ruxan -a | је |
| | bə- | šo | -əm+FR. VAR. OF | ruxan -ə ₇ +FR. VAR. OF | јə+FR. VAR. OF |
| | sbjv | go.prs | 1sg | river gen | from |
| | v:Sbjv | Prs.ind | v:SubAgr | n n:(Case) | postp |
| | go.prs.sbjv | | river | | from |
| | Prs.sbjv | | n | | postp |
| | <i>av</i> | <i>vavarəm</i> | | . | |
| | av | va- | var | -əm | |
| | av | bə-+FR. VAR. OF | bar | -əm | |
| | water | sbjv | bring.prs | 1sg | |
| | n | v:Sbjv | Prs.ind | v:SubAgr | |
| | water | bring.prs | | | |
| | n | Prs.sbjv | | | |
| | The pig did not get out of its briar patch, but I was forced to go and bring water from the river. | | | | |
| 1.9 | <i>Moŋe</i> | = e | <i>vagerdestən</i> | <i>Saleya</i> | |
| | moŋe | =e | vagardest -ən | Sale -ya | |
| | moŋe | =ə ₁ +FR. VAR. OF | vagardest -ən | Sale -a ₁ | |
| | time | =ezf | return.pst inf | Saleh acc-dat | |
| | n | nomprt | Pst.ind Inf:SubAgr | nprop n:(Case) | |
| | time | ezf | return.inf | Saleh | |
| | n | nomprt | Inf | nprop | |

| | | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------|---|--------------|------------|------------|-------------------|
| <i>bidəm</i> | | , | <i>mašti</i> | <i>Ali</i> | <i>aya</i> | <i>pezar</i> |
| bi- di | -əm | | mašti | Ali | aya | pezar |
| bə- di ₃ | -əm | | mašti | Ali | aya | pesər+FR. VAR. OF |
| pst see.pst 1sg | | | mashti | Ali | mister | son |
| v:Pst Pst.ind | v:SubAgr | | adj | nprop | n | n |
| see.pst | | | mashti | Ali | mister | son |
| Pst.ind | | | adj | nprop | n | n |

zaka .

zak -a
zai -a₁
child acc-dat
n n:(Case)

child

n

While returning (home), I saw Sāleḥ , the young son of Mr [Mašti] Ali.

| | | | | | | | |
|------|--------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|---|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1.10 | <i>Ta</i> | <i>čan</i> | <i>sal</i> | = | <i>ə</i> | <i>piš</i> | <i>i</i> |
| | ta | čan | sal | | =ə | piš | i |
| | ta ₂ | čan | sal | | =ə ₁ | piš | i |
| | until | a few | year | | =ezf | before | one |
| | prep | quant | n | | nomprt | adv | cardnum |
| | until | a few | year | | ezf | before | one |
| | prep | quant | n | | nomprt | adv | cardnum |
| | <i>tə</i> | <i>nimče</i> | <i>zak</i> | = | <i>i</i> | <i>bu0</i> | , |
| | tə | nimče | zak | | =i | bu | -0 |
| | ta ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF | nimče | zai | | =i ₃ | bu | -0 ₁ |
| | clf | small | child | | = | be.pst 3sg.pst | |
| | nclf | adj | n | | | Pst.ind | Pst.ind:SubAgr |
| | clf | small | child | | indf | be.pst | |
| | clf | adj | n | | a | Pst.ind | |
| | | | | | indf | | |
| | <i>bozorga</i> | | <i>bovustovo0</i> | | | | , |
| | bozorg -a | | bo- vust | | -ovo | -0 | |
| | bozorg -a ₃ | | bə- bust | | -əvo+FR. VAR. OF | -0 ₁ | |
| | big sbjcomp | | pst become.pst | | pstpluprf | 3sg.pst | |
| | adj adj:Any | | v:Pst Pst.ind | | Pst.ind:PstPluprf | Pst.ind:SubAgr | |
| | big | | become.pstprf | | | | |
| | adj | | Pluprf | | | | |

| | | | | |
|----------|-------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----|
| <i>i</i> | <i>tə</i> | <i>xušgelə</i> | <i>rəi</i> | . |
| i | <i>tə</i> | xušgel | -ə | rəi |
| i | <i>ta₁+DIAL. VAR. OF</i> | xušgel | -ə ₆ | rəi |
| one | clf | handsome | attr | guy |
| cardnum | nclf | adj | adj:Any | n |
| one | clf | handsome | | guy |
| cardnum | clf | adj | | n |

Until a few years before, he was just a boy, (but now) he had grown up, [he had become] a handsome guy.

| | | | | | | |
|------|----------------|-------------|------------------|---|------------|---------------------|
| 1.11 | <i>Hato ki</i> | <i>marə</i> | <i>fandərəst</i> | , | <i>xu</i> | <i>čuma</i> |
| | hato ki | marə | fandərəst | | xu | čum -a |
| | hato ki | mən | fandərəst | | xu | čum -a ₁ |
| | as soon as | I.ACCDAT | look at | | oneself.sg | eye acc-dat |
| | advlizer | pers | Pst.ind | | refl | n n:(Case) |
| | as soon as | I.accdat | look at | | | eye |
| | advlizer | pers | Pst.ind | | adj | n |

kalasa kodou

| | | |
|--------------------------|------------------|------------------------------|
| kalasa kod | -0 | -u |
| kalasa kud+FR. VAR. OF | -əvo+FR. VAR. OF | -ə ₃ +FR. VAR. OF |
| open one's eyes wide.pst | pstpluprf | 3sg.pstprf |

open one's eyes wide.pst

Pst.ind

As soon as he looked at me, he opened his eyes wide.

| | | | | | | |
|------|----------|-------------------------------------|------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------|
| 1.12 | <i>I</i> | <i>tə</i> | <i>var</i> | <i>ana</i> | <i>hay digadəm</i> | , |
| | i | <i>tə</i> | var | ana | hay digad | -əm |
| | i | <i>ta₁+DIAL. VAR. OF</i> | var | an ₂ | hay digad | -əm |
| | one | clf | time | he.ACCDAT | reproach.pst | 1sg |
| | cardnum | nclf | n | pers | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |
| | one | clf | time | he.accdat | reproach | |
| | cardnum | clf | n | pers | Pst.ind | |

ingar kiška ro av fokuni

| | | | | | |
|-------|-------|----|-------|-----------|-----------------|
| ingar | kiška | ro | av | fokun | -i |
| ingar | kiška | ro | av | fokun | -i ₃ |
| as if | chick | on | water | throw.prs | 2sg |

as if chick on water throw.prs
subordconn n postp n Prs.ind

I once reproached him, [but] it was like pouring water on a chick.

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| 1.13 | <i>Do</i> | <i>ma</i> | = | <i>ə</i> | <i>bad</i> | <i>am</i> | <i>xu</i> |
| | do | ma | | =ə | bad | am | xu |
| | do | ma | | =ə ₁ | bad | am ₁ | xu |
| | two | month | | =ezf | later | also | oneself.sg |
| | cardnum | n | | nomprt | adv | coordconn | refl |
| | two | month | | ezf | later | also | oneself.gen |
| | ordnum | pers | | nomprt | adj | coordconn | refl |
| | <i>perə</i> | | <i>dasa</i> | | <i>bigift0</i> | | |
| | per | -ə | | das -a | bi- | gift | -0 |
| | pər+DIAL. VAR. OF | -ə ₇ | | das -a ₁ | bə- | gift | -0 ₁ |
| | father | gen | | hand acc-dat | pst | take.pst 3sg.pst | |
| | n | n:(Case) | | n n:(Case) | v:Pst Pst.ind | Pst.ind:SubAgr | |
| | father | | | hand | | take.pst | |
| | n | | | n | | Pst.ind | |
| | <i>o</i> | <i>bomo</i> | | | | <i>ami</i> | |
| | o | b- | om | -o | | ami | |
| | o ₁ | bə- | am ₂ +FR. VAR. OF | -ə ₃ +FR. VAR. OF | | amən | |
| | and | pst | come.pst | 3sg.pstprf | | we.GEN | |
| | coordconn | v:Pst Pst.ind | | Pst.ind:SubAgr | | pers | |
| | and | come.pst | | | | we.gen | |
| | coordconn | Pst.ind | | | | pers | |
| | <i>xano</i> | <i>zanxazi</i> | | . | | | |
| | xano | zanxazi | | | | | |
| | xanə+FR. VAR. OF | zanxazi | | | | | |
| | home | proposing marriage | | | | | |
| | n | adj | | | | | |
| | home | marriage proposal | | | | | |
| | n | adj | | | | | |

Therefore, two month later, he took his father hands and came to our house for proposing marriage.

| | | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|------------|----------------|---------------|---|--------------------------|
| 1.14 | <i>Anə</i> | <i>mar</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>amjan</i> | = | <i>əm</i> |
| | anə | mar | o | amjan | | əm |
| | an ₂ | mar | o ₁ | amjan | | am ₁ +ENC. OF |
| | he.GEN | mother | and | paternal aunt | | also |
| | pers | n | coordconn | n | | coordconn |
| | he.gen | mother | and | paternal aunt | | also |
| | pers | n | coordconn | n | | coordconn |

| | | | |
|--------------|-------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>ašanə</i> | <i>mijə</i> | <i>bomovəd</i> | . |
| ašanə | mijə | b- om | -ov -əd |
| ašan | mijə | bə- am ₂ +FR. VAR. OF | -əvo+FR. VAR. OF |
| they.GEN | with | pst come.pst | pstpluprf 3pl. |
| pers | postp | v:Pst Pst.ind | Pst.ind:PstPluprf v:SubAgr |

they.gen with come.pstprf
pers postp Pluprf

His mother and his paternal aunt had also come with them.

| 1.15 | <i>Mi</i> | <i>mar</i> | <i>marə</i> | <i>vanversi0</i> | <i>aha</i> |
|------|-----------|------------|-------------|--------------------------|------------|
| | mi | mar | marə | vanversi -0 | aha |
| | mən | mar | mən | vanversi -0 ₁ | aha |
| | I.GEN | mother | I.ACCDAT | ask.neg.pst 3sg.pst | yes |
| | pers | n | pers | Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr | interj |
| | I.gen | mother | I.accdat | ask.neg.pst | yes |
| | persgen | n | persaccdat | Pst.ind | interj |

fadi .
fad -i
fad -i₁
give.pst 3sg.impf
Pst.ind Impf:SubAgr

give.pst
Pst.ind

My mother did not ask me [and] accepted [the proposal].

Text 2: [*Saxtə zindigi* “Hard life”]

| 2.1 | <i>Kojə</i> | <i>čillə</i> | <i>bu0</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>Hadiya</i> |
|-----|-------------|----------------|------------------------|------------|----------------------|
| | kojə | čillə | bu -0 | ki | Hadi -ya |
| | kojə | čillə | bu -0 ₁ | ki | Hadi -a ₁ |
| | small | part of winter | be.pst 3sg.pst | when | Hadi acc-dat |
| | adj | n | Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr | advlizer | nprop n:(Case) |
| | small | part of winter | be.pst | when | Hadi |
| | adj | n | Pst.ind | subordconn | nprop |

bezastəm .
be- zast -əm
bə-+FR. VAR. OF zast -əm
pst give birth to.pst 1sg
v:Pst Pst.ind v:SubAgr

give birth to.pst
vt

It was the end of the winter when I gave birth to Hādī.

| | | |
|-----|-------------|-----------------------------|
| 2.2 | <i>Varf</i> | <i>čačpareya</i> |
| | varf | čačpare |
| | varf | čačpare |
| | snow | basin near the well acc-dat |
| | n | n:(Case) |
| | snow | basin near the well |
| | n | n |

bigiftavə0

| | | | |
|-----|----------|------------------|-----------------|
| bi- | gift | -avə | -0 |
| bə- | gift | -əvo+FR. VAR. OF | -0 ₁ |
| pst | take.pst | pstpluprf | 3sg.pst |

v:Pst Pst.ind Pst.ind:PstPluprf Pst.ind:SubAgr

take.pstprf

Pluprf

The snow had covered the basin near the well (in the yard).

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|--------------|------------------------|---|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 2.3 | <i>Sale</i> | <i>bikar</i> | <i>bu0</i> | , | <i>ami</i> | <i>baranj</i> | <i>am</i> |
| | Sale | bikar | bu -0 | | ami | baranj | am |
| | Sale | bikar | bu -0 ₁ | | amən | baranj | am ₁ |
| | Saleh | jobless | be.pst 3sg.pst | | we.GEN | rice | also |
| | nprop | adj | Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr | | pers | n | coordconn |
| | Saleh | jobless | be.pst | | we.gen | rice | also |
| | nprop | adj | Pst.ind | | pers | n | coordconn |

tomama

bostuvə0

| | | | | |
|----------|-----------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| tomam | -a | bost | -uvə | -0 |
| tomam | -a ₃ | bust+FR. VAR. OF | -əvo+FR. VAR. OF | -0 ₁ |
| finished | sbjcomp | become.pst | pstpluprf | 3sg.pst |

adj adj:Any Pst.ind Pst.ind:PstPluprf Pst.ind:SubAgr

finished become.pstprf

adj Pluprf

Sāleh was jobless (and) our rice had been used up too.

| | | | |
|-----|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| 2.4 | <i>Marə</i> | <i>hičvaxt</i> | <i>žaxtara</i> |
| | marə | hičvaxt | žaxtara |
| | mən | hičvaxt | žaxtara |
| | I.ACCDAT | never | forgotten |
| | pers | adv | adj |
| | I.accdat | never | forgotten |
| | persaccdat | adv | adj |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|---------|------------------------------|----------|-----------------|------------|
| <i>nušə</i> | | | <i>i</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>sal</i> |
| nu- | šo | -ə | i | ta | sal |
| nə-+FR. VAR. OF | šo | -e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF | i | ta ₁ | sal |
| not | go.prs | 3sg.ind | one | clf | year |
| v:Any | Prs.ind | Prs.ind:SubAgr | cardnum | nclf | n |
| go.prs | | | one | clf | year |
| Prs.ind | | | cardnum | nclf | n |

| | | | | |
|------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|----------|
| <i>bad</i> | <i>dovarə</i> | <i>šakam</i> | <i>usadəm</i> | . |
| bad | dovarə | šakam | usad | -əm |
| bad | dovarə | šakam | usad | -əm |
| later | again | belly | take.pst | 1sg |
| adv | adv | n | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |
| later | again | belly | take.pst | |
| adv | adv | n | Pst.ind | |

I never forget that I got pregnant again one year later.

| | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------------|------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 2.5 | <i>Hato</i> | <i>hato</i> | <i>šiš</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>šakam</i> |
| | hato | hato | šiš | ta | šakam |
| | hato | hato | šiš | ta ₁ | šakam |
| | so | so | six | clf | belly |
| | adv | adv | cardnum | nclf | n |
| | so | so | six | clf | belly |
| | adv | adv | cardnum | n | n |

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|----------|
| <i>bezastəm</i> | | . |
| be- | zast | -əm |
| bə-+FR. VAR. OF | zast | -əm |
| pst | give birth to.pst | 1sg |
| v:Pst | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |

give birth to.pst

Pst.ind

In the same way, I gave birth six times.

| | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------------|------------|
| 2.6 | <i>Zakan</i> | <i>tazu</i> | <i>az</i> | <i>av</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>gil</i> |
| | zak -an | tazu | az | av | o | gil |
| | zai -an | tazu | az | av | o ₁ | gil |
| | child pl | just | from | water | and | mud |
| | n n:(Pl) | adv | prep | n | coordconn | n |
| | baby | just | from | water | and | mud |
| | n | adv | prep | n | coordconn | n |

| | | | |
|-------------------|--|--|-------------|
| <i>virun</i> | | | <i>karə</i> |
| virun | | | karə |
| birun+FR. VAR. OF | | | karə |
| out | | | cont.part |
| adv | | | adv |
| out | | | cont.part |
| adv | | | adv |

| <i>amandovəd</i> | | | <i>ke</i> | <i>Sale</i> |
|------------------|----------------|------------------------------|----------------|-------------|
| am | -andov- | -əd | ke | Sale |
| am ₂ | -əndovu- | +FR. VAR. OF -id+FR. VAR. OF | ki+FR. VAR. OF | Sale |
| come.pst | pst.cnt | 3pl. | when | Saleh |
| Pst.ind | Pst.ind:PstCnt | v:SubAgr | advlizer | nprop |
| come.pst | | | when | Saleh |
| PstCnt | | | subordconn | nprop |

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| <i>bumord0</i> | . |
| bo- mord | -0 |
| bə- murd+FR. VAR. OF | -0 ₁ |
| pst die.pst | 3sg.pst |
| v:Pst Pst.ind | Pst.ind:SubAgr |

die.pst
Pst.ind

The children were no chicken when their father (Sāleh) passed away.

| 2.7 | <i>Kar</i> | <i>bogudəm</i> | <i>ibče</i> | <i>ibče</i> | <i>pol</i> |
|-----|-------------|------------------------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------|
| | kar | bo- gud | -əm | ibče | ibče |
| | kar | bə- kud+FR. VAR. OF | -əm | ibče | ibče |
| | work | pst do.pst | 1sg | little | little |
| | n | v:Pst Pst.ind | v:SubAgr | adv | adv |
| | work | do.pst | | little | money |
| | n | Pst.ind | | adv | n |
| | | | | | |
| | <i>jamə</i> | <i>gudəm</i> | | , | <i>zakan</i> |
| | jam | -ə | gud | -əm | zak -an |
| | jam | -a ₄ +FR. VAR. OF | kud+FR. VAR. OF | -əm | zai -an |
| | addition | objcomp | do.pst | 1sg | child pl |
| | n | n:Any | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr | n n:(Pl) |
| | addition | | do.pst | | child |
| | n | | Pst.ind | | n |

| | | | |
|--------------|--------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>hanuz</i> | <i>nimče</i> | <i>bud</i> | . |
| hanuz | nimče | bu | -d |
| hanuz | nimče | bu | -id |
| still | little | be.pst | 3pl..IRR.INFL |
| adv | adj | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |
| still | small | be.pst | |
| adv | adj | Pst.ind | |

I worked [and] saved money little by little, the children were still young.

Text 3: [*Səfər bə Mašad* “Trip to Mašhad”]

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------|------------|-----------------|------------|--------------|--------------|----------|
| 3.1 | <i>Dah</i> | <i>sal</i> | = ə | <i>piš</i> | <i>bišim</i> | <i>Mašad</i> | , |
| | dah | sal | =ə | piš | bi- šo | -im | Mašad |
| | dah | sal | =ə ₁ | piš | bə- šo | -im | Mašad |
| | ten | year | =ezf | before | pst go.pst | 1pl | Mashad |
| | cardnum | n | nomprt | adv | v:Pst | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |
| | ten | year | ezf | before | go.pst | | Mashad |
| | cardnum | n | nomprt | adv | Pst.ind | | nprop |

| | | |
|-----------------|----------------|----------|
| <i>xorusxan</i> | <i>faresim</i> | . |
| xorusxan | fares | -im |
| xorusxan | fares | -im |
| cock crow | arrive.pst | 1pl |
| n | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |
| cock crow | arrive.pst | |
| n | Pst.ind | |

Ten years ago, we went to Mašhad (and) we arrived at cock crow.

| | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|---------------|----------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| 3.2 | <i>Ti</i> | <i>amjan</i> | o | <i>amjanmardə</i> | |
| | ti | amjan | o | amjanmard | -ə |
| | to | amjan | o ₁ | amjanmard | -ə ₁ |
| | you.GEN | paternal aunt | and | husband of paternal aunt | gen |
| | persnom | n | coordconn | n | n:(Case) |
| | you.gen | paternal aunt | and | husband of paternal aunt | |
| | pers | n | coordconn | n | |

| | | |
|---------------|----------------|-------------------|
| <i>mimijə</i> | <i>bušuvom</i> | . |
| mimijə | bu- š | -uv |
| mimijə | bə- šo | -əvo+FR. VAR. OF |
| with | pst go.pst | -əm+FR. VAR. OF |
| postp | Pst.ind | Pst.ind:PstPluprf |
| | v:Pst | PstPluprf |
| | | 1sg |
| | | v:SubAgr |
| with | go.pst | |
| postp | Pluprf | |

I had gone with your paternal aunt and her husband.

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------|--------------------------------|-------------|-----------------|----------|
| 3.3 | <i>I</i> | <i>tə</i> | <i>utay</i> | <i>fagiftim</i> | . |
| | i | tə | utay | fagift | -im |
| | i | ta ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF | utay | fagift | -im |
| | one | clf | room | get.pst | 1pl |
| | cardnum | nclf | n | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |
| | one | clf | room | get.pst | |
| | cardnum | clf | n | Pst.ind | |

We got a room.

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|---|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|---------------|----------|
| 3.4 | <i>Dam</i> | = | <i>ə</i> | <i>zor</i> | <i>bəron</i> | <i>bišim</i> | , |
| | dam | | =ə | zor | bəron | bi- šo | -im |
| | dam | | =ə ₁ | zor | bəron | bə- šo | -im |
| | near | | =ezf | midday | out | pst go.pst | 1pl |
| | adv | | nomprt | n | adv | v:Pst Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |
| | near | | ezf | midday | out | go.pst | |
| | adv | | nomprt | n | adv | Pst.ind | |
| | <i>arəoreyə</i> | | | <i>begerdastim</i> | | | . |
| | arəore | | -yə | be- | gerdast | -im | |
| | arəore | | -a ₁ +FR. VAR. OF | bə-+FR. VAR. OF | gerdast | -im | |
| | here and there | | acc-dat | pst | stroll.pst | 1pl | |
| | adv | | n:(Case) | v:Pst | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr | |
| | here and there | | | stroll.pst | | | |
| | adv | | | Pst.ind | | | |

Near midday, we went out, we strolled here and there.

| | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|---|
| 3.5 | <i>Mi</i> | <i>čuma</i> | <i>vaza</i> | <i>gudəm</i> | | , |
| | mi | čum -a | vaz -a | gud | -əm | |
| | mən | čum -a ₁ | vaz -a ₄ | kud+FR. VAR. OF | -əm | |
| | I.GEN | eye acc-dat | open objcomp | do.pst | 1sg | |
| | pers | n n:(Case) | adj n:Any | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr | |
| | I.gen | eye | open | do.pst | | |
| | persgen | n | adj | Pst.ind | | |
| | <i>bidəm</i> | | <i>mi</i> | <i>pola</i> | | |
| | bi- d | -əm | mi | pol | -a | |
| | bə- di ₃ | -əm | mən | pol | -a ₁ | |
| | pst see.pst | 1sg | I.GEN | money acc-dat | | |
| | v:Pst Pst.ind | v:SubAgr | pers | n n:(Case) | | |
| | see.pst | | I.gen | money | | |
| | Pst.ind | | persgen | n | | |

beyabəstəd

| | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| be- | γabəst | -əd |
| bə-+FR. VAR. OF | γabəst | -id+FR. VAR. OF |
| pst | pickpocket.pst | 3pl. |

v:Pst Pst.ind v:SubAgr

pickpocket.pst

Pst.ind

I opened my eyes and I saw that my money had been pickpocketed.

3.6 *Hičči di naštim*

| | | | | |
|---------|-----------------|-----|----------|-----|
| hičči | di | n- | ašt | -im |
| hičči | di ₁ | nə- | dašt | -im |
| nothing | more | not | have.pst | 1pl |

indfpro adv v:Any Pst.ind v:SubAgr

nothing more have.pst

indfpro adv Pst.ind

I did not have a penny anymore.

| 3.7 | <i>Ti amjan agi xu marə pol</i> |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| ti | amjan |
| to | amjan |
| you.GEN persnom | paternal aunt |
| you.gen pers | if advlizer |
| | xu |
| | oneself.sg |
| | refl |
| | marə |
| | with |
| | postp |
| | pol |
| | money |
| | n |

navardovi

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|------------------|-----------------|---------|------|------|
| n- | avard | -ovo | -i | vasi | küna | küna |
| nə- | avard | -əvo+FR. VAR. OF | -i ₂ | vasi | küna | küna |
| not | bring.pst | pstpluprf | 3sg.sbj | have to | back | back |

v:Any Pst.ind Pst.ind:PstPluprf Pst.sbj:SubAgr Mod adv adv

bring.pst

vt

have to

Mod

back

adv

back

adv

vagardesdəvim

| | | |
|-----------------------|--------|-----|
| vagardesd | -əv | -im |
| vagardest+FR. VAR. OF | -əvi | -im |
| return.pst | pstsbj | 1pl |

Pst.ind Pst.sbj:Pst.sbj v:SubAgr

return.pst

Pst.ind

If your paternal aunt did not bring money with her, I should have returned right back home.

| | | | | | | |
|------|---|------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------|
| 3.8 | <i>Se</i> | <i>röz</i> | <i>Mašad</i> | <i>bесим</i> | . | |
| | se | röz | Mašad | b- es | -im | |
| | se | röz | Mašad | bə- is+FR. VAR. OF | -im | |
| | three | day | Mashad | pst stay.pst | 1pl | |
| | cardnum | n | nprop | v:Pst Pst.ind | v:SubAgr | |
| | three | day | Mashad | stay.pst | | |
| | cardnum | n | nprop | Pst.ind | | |
| | We stayed three days in Mašad. | | | | | |
| 3.9 | <i>Xaili</i> | <i>amarə</i> | <i>xoš</i> | <i>bomu</i> | . | |
| | xaili | amarə | xoš | b- om | -u | |
| | xaili | amən | xoš | bə- am ₂ +FR. VAR. OF | -ə ₃ +FR. VAR. OF | |
| | much | we.ACCDAT | pleasant | pst come.pst | 3sg.pstprf | |
| | adv | pers | adj | v:Pst Pst.ind | Pst.ind:SubAgr | |
| | much | we.accdat | pleasant | come.pst | | |
| | adv | persaccdat | adj | Prf | | |
| | We really liked it. | | | | | |
| 3.10 | <i>žayelan</i> | = i | | <i>ivčə</i> | <i>xardoxašal</i> | |
| | žayelan | =i | | ivčə | xardoxašal | |
| | žayelan | =rə+UNSPEC. VAR. OF | | ibče+FR. VAR. OF | xardoxašal | |
| | guy | =for | | little | something nice | |
| | n | postp | | adj | n | |
| | guy | for | | little | something nice | |
| | n | postp | | adj | n | |
| | <i>fagiftəm</i> | | | | | |
| | fagift -əm | | | | | |
| | fagift -əm | | | | | |
| | get.pst 1sg | | | | | |
| | Pst.ind v:SubAgr | | | | | |
| | get.pst | | | | | |
| | Pst.ind | | | | | |
| | I bought some nice little something for the guys. | | | | | |
| 3.11 | <i>Moje</i> | = e | | <i>vagardestən</i> | <i>ami</i> | <i>otobus</i> |
| | moje | =e | | vagardest -ən | ami | otobus |
| | moje | =ə ₁ +FR. VAR. OF | | vagardest -ən | amən | otobus |
| | time | =ezf | | return.pst inf | we.GEN | bus |
| | n | nomprt | | Pst.ind Inf:SubAgr | pers | n |
| | time | ezf | | return.pst | we.gen | bus |
| | n | nomprt | | Inf | pers | n |

| | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|--|----------------------|-----------------|---|--------------|
| <i>xarabə</i> | | <i>bovostə</i> | | : | <i>kollı</i> |
| xarab -ə | | bo- vost | -0 | | kolli |
| xarab -a ₃ +FR. VAR. OF | | bə- bust+FR. VAR. OF | -0 ₁ | | kolli |
| broken sbjcomp | | pst become.pst | 3sg.pst | | a lot |
| adj adj:Any | | v:Pst Pst.ind | Pst.ind:SubAgr | | adv |
| broken | | become.pst | | | a lot |
| adj | | Pst.ind | | | adv |

| <i>moattali</i> | <i>bakašim</i> | . |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| moattali | ba- | kaš -im |
| moattali | bə-+FR. VAR. OF | kaš -im |
| wait | pst | pull.pst 1pl |
| n | v:Pst | Pst.ind v:SubAgr |
| wait | pull.pst | |
| n | Pst.ind | |

While returning home, our bus broke down: we waited a lot.

| 3.12 | <i>Az</i> | <i>un</i> | <i>be</i> | <i>bad</i> | <i>di</i> | <i>Mašad</i> |
|------|-----------|-----------|----------------|------------|-----------------|--------------|
| | az | un | be | bad | di | Mašad |
| | az | un | bə+FR. VAR. OF | bad | di ₁ | Mašad |
| | from | that | to | later | more | Mashad |
| | prep | dem | prep | adv | adv | nprop |
| | from | that | to | later | more | Mashad |
| | prep | dem | prep | adv | adv | nprop |

| <i>nušəm</i> | . |
|-----------------|------------------|
| nu- | šo -əm |
| nə-+FR. VAR. OF | šo -əm |
| not | go.pst 1sg |
| v:Any | Pst.ind v:SubAgr |

go.pst
Pst.ind

From then on, I have not gone to Mašhad anymore.

| 3.13 | <i>Mi</i> | <i>dil</i> | <i>xayə</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>var</i> |
|------|-----------|------------|----------------------------------|----------|------------|
| | mi | dil | xay -ə | i | var |
| | mən | dil | xay -e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF | i | var |
| | I.GEN | heart | want.prs 3sg.ind | one | time |
| | pers | n | Prs.ind Prs.ind:SubAgr | cardnum | n |
| | I.gen | heart | want.prs | one | time |
| | persgen | n | Prs.ind | cardnum | n |

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------|------------------|
| <i>di</i> | <i>bušəm</i> | . |
| di | bu- | šo -əm |
| di ₁ | bə- | šo -əm |
| more | sbjv | go.prs 1sg |
| adv | v:Sbjv | Prs.ind v:SubAgr |

more go.pst
adv Pst.ind

I would like to go to Mašhad once more

Text 4: [*Aid* “New Year”]

| 4.1 | <i>Aid</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>ami</i> | <i>ami</i> | <i>mar</i> |
|-----|--------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|---------------|
| | aid | ki | am -i | ami | mar |
| | aid | ki | am ₂ -i ₁ | amən | mar |
| | New Year | when | come.pst 3sg.impf | we.GEN | mother |
| | n | advlizer | Pst.ind Impf:SubAgr | pers | n |
| | New Year | when | come.pst | we.gen | mother |
| | n | advlizer | Impf | pers | n |
| | <i>amari</i> | <i>γašangə</i> | <i>libas</i> | <i>vadoxti</i> | , <i>tazu</i> |
| | amari | γašang -ə | libas | vadoxt -i | tazu |
| | amən | γašang -ə ₆ | libas | vadoxt -i ₁ | tazu |
| | we.ACCDAT | pretty attr | clothes | sew.pst 3sg.impf | new |
| | pers | adj adj:Any | n | Pst.ind Impf:SubAgr | adj |
| | we.accdat | pretty | cloth | sew.pst | new |
| | persaccdat | adj | n | Impf | adj |

| | | |
|--------------|---------------------|---|
| <i>galuš</i> | <i>hi</i> | . |
| galuš | h -i | |
| galuš | hə -i ₁ | |
| galuš | buy.pst 3sg.impf | |
| n | Pst.ind Impf:SubAgr | |

galuš buy.pst
n Impf

When the New Year arrived, our mother would sew new clothes and buy new galuš for us.

| | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-----------------|------------------|-----------|--------------|------------------|
| 4.2 | <i>Aidə</i> | | <i>röz</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>busti</i> | , |
| | aid | -ə | röz | ki | bust | -i |
| | aid | -ə ₇ | röz | ki | bust | -i ₁ |
| | New Year | gen | day | when | become.pst | 3sg.impf |
| | n | n:(Case) | n | advlizer | Pst.ind | Impf:SubAgr |
| | New Year | | day | when | become.pst | |
| | n | | n | advlizer | Impf | |
| | <i>ušonə</i> | | <i>dogudim</i> | | , | <i>šim</i> |
| | ušonə | | dogud | -im | | šo -im |
| | ušon | | dogud | -im | | šo -im |
| | they.ACCDAT | | wear.pst | 1pl | | go.pst 1pl |
| | pers | | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr | | Pst.ind v:SubAgr |
| | they.accdat | | wear.pst | | | go.pst |
| | pers | | Impf | | | Impf |
| | <i>mardomə</i> | | <i>xano</i> | | . | |
| | mardom | -ə | xano | | | |
| | mardom | -ə ₇ | xanə+FR. VAR. OF | | | |
| | acquaintances | gen | home | | | |
| | n | n:(Case) | n | | | |
| | acquaintances | | home | | | |
| | n | | n | | | |

On the first day of New Year, (we children) would wear them and (we children) would visit acquaintances.

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|-----------------|----------|--------------|----------|
| 4.3 | <i>Amarə</i> | <i>aidi</i> | | <i>fadid</i> | . |
| | amarə | aidi | | fad | -id |
| | amən | aidi | | fad | -id |
| | we.ACCDAT | New Year's gift | | give.pst | 3pl. |
| | pers | n | | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |
| | we.accdat | New Year's gift | give.pst | | |
| | pers | n | Impf | | |

They would give us New year's gifts.

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------|------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|
| 4.4 | <i>Mi</i> | <i>mar</i> | <i>aməri</i> | <i>aidə</i> | <i>šab</i> | <i>halva</i> |
| | mi | mar | aməri | aid | -ə | šab |
| | mən | mar | amən | aid | -ə ₇ | šab |
| | I.GEN | mother | we.ACCDAT | New Year | eve | halva |
| | pers | n | pers | gen | n:(Case) | n |
| | I.gen | mother | we.accdat | New Year | night | halva |
| | pers | n | persaccdat | n | n | n |

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>o</i> | <i>laku</i> | <i>čegadi</i> | . |
| <i>o</i> | <i>laku</i> | <i>čegad</i> | -i |
| <i>o₁</i> | <i>laku</i> | <i>čegad</i> | -i ₁ |
| and | <i>laku</i> | prepare.pst | 3sg.impf |
| coordconn | n | Pst.ind | Impf:SubAgr |

and laku prepare.pst
coordconn n Impf

On New Years eve, my mother would prepare us *halva* and *laku*.

| | | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-----------|------------|-----------|------------|--------------------|
| 4.5 | <i>Ta</i> | <i>se</i> | <i>röz</i> | <i>az</i> | <i>aid</i> | <i>arəura</i> |
| | ta | se | röz | az | aid | arəura |
| | ta ₂ | se | röz | az | aid | arəore+FR. VAR. OF |
| | until | three | day | from | New Year | here and there |
| | prep | cardnum | n | prep | n | adv |
| | until | three | day | from | New Year | here and there |
| | prep | cardnum | n | prep | n | adv |

| | | | | |
|----------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>je</i> | <i>ameri</i> | <i>adam</i> | <i>ami</i> | . |
| je | ameri | adam | am | -i |
| je+FR. VAR. OF | amən | adam | am ₂ | -i ₁ |
| from | we.ACCDAT | guest | come.pst | 3sg.impf |
| postp | pers | n | Pst.ind | Impf:SubAgr |

from we.accdat guest come.pst
postp persaccdat n Impf

For three days after New year, guests would come to us from here and there.

| | | | | | |
|-----|------------|------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 4.6 | <i>Ami</i> | <i>jan</i> | <i>di</i> | <i>eškafti</i> | <i>ašani</i> |
| | ami | jan | di | eškaft | -i |
| | amən | jan | di ₁ | eškaft | -i ₁ |
| | we.GEN | body | quite | break.pst | 3sg.impf |
| | pers | n | adv | Pst.ind | Impf:SubAgr |
| | we.gen | body | quite | break.pst | they.accdat |
| | pers | n | adv | Impf | persaccdat |

| | | |
|-------------------|----------------|----------|
| <i>palaxorušt</i> | <i>čegadim</i> | . |
| palaxorušt | čegad | -im |
| palaxorušt | čegad | -im |
| rice and stew | prepare.pst | 1pl |
| n | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |

rice and stew prepare.pst
n Impf

We were quiet dead on our feet for preparing rice and stew.

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|---|
| 4.7 | <i>čan</i> | <i>röz</i> | <i>ki</i> | <i>az</i> | <i>aid</i> | <i>ši</i> | | , |
| | čan | röz | ki | az | aid | šo | -i | |
| | čan | röz | ki | az | aid | šo | -i ₁ | |
| | a few | day | when | from | New Year | go.pst | 3sg.impf | |
| | quant | n | advlizer | prep | n | Pst.ind | Impf:SubAgr | |
| | a few | day | when | from | New Year | go.pst | | |
| | quant | n | advlizer | prep | n | Impf | | |
| | <i>mi</i> | <i>mar</i> | <i>ami</i> | <i>dasa</i> | <i>gisti</i> | | | |
| | mi | mar | ami | das -a | gift | -i | | |
| | mən | mar | amən | das -a ₁ | gift | -i ₁ | | |
| | I.GEN | mother | we.GEN | hand acc-dat | take.pst | 3sg.impf | | |
| | pers | n | pers | n n:(Case) | Pst.ind | Impf:SubAgr | | |
| | I.gen | mother | we.gen | hand | take.pst | | | |
| | pers | n | pers | n | Impf | | | |
| | <i>amarə</i> | <i>bordi</i> | | <i>Rašt</i> | . | | | |
| | amarə | bord | -i | Rašt | | | | |
| | amən | bord | -i ₁ | Rašt | | | | |
| | we.ACCDAT | take.pst | 3sg.impf | Rašt | | | | |
| | pers | Pst.ind | Impf:SubAgr | nprop | | | | |
| | we.accdat | take.pst | | Rašt | | | | |
| | pers | Impf | | nprop | | | | |

Several days after New Year, my mother would take our hand and take us to Rašt.

| | | | | |
|-----|-------------|----------------|--------------|----------------------|
| 4.8 | <i>Rašt</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>zamat</i> | <i>alana</i> |
| | Rašt | u | zamat | alan -a |
| | Rašt | u ₁ | zamat | alan -a ₁ |
| | Rašt | that | time | now acc-dat |
| | nprop | dem | n | n n:(Case) |
| | Rašt | that | time | now |
| | nprop | dem | n | n |

namanesti

| | | |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| na- | manest | -i |
| nə-+FR. VAR. OF | manest | -i ₁ |
| not | resemble.pst | 3sg.impf |
| v:Any | Pst.ind | Impf:SubAgr |

resemble.pst
Impf

At that time, Rašt was not like now.

| | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|---|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| 4.9 | <i>Šon</i> | | <i>ta</i> | <i>oyə</i> | <i>xaili</i> | <i>saxt</i> |
| | šo -on | | ta | oyə | xaili | saxt |
| | šo -ən+FR. VAR. OF | | ta ₂ | oyə | xaili | saxt |
| | go.pst inf | | until | there | very | difficult |
| | Pst.ind Inf:SubAgr | | prep | adv | adv | adj |
| | go.pst | | until | there | very | difficult |
| | Pst.ind | | prep | adv | adv | adj |
| | <i>bu0</i> | , | <i>ba</i> | <i>asp</i> | <i>o</i> | <i>γatil</i> |
| | bu -0 | | ba | asp | o | γatil |
| | bu -0 ₁ | | ba | asp | o ₁ | γatil |
| | be.pst 3sg.pst | | with | horse | and | mule |
| | Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr | | prep | n | coordconn | n |
| | be.pst | | with | horse | and | mule |
| | Pst.ind | | prep | n | coordconn | n |
| | <i>bišəbim</i> | | | <i>ta</i> | <i>oyə</i> | . |
| | bi- š -əb | | -im | ta | oyə | |
| | bə- šo -əvo+FR. VAR. OF | | -im | ta ₂ | oyə | |
| | pst go.pst pstpluprf | | 1pl | until | there | |
| | v:Pst Pst.ind Pst.ind:PstPluprf | | v:SubAgr | prep | adv | |
| | go.pst | | | until | there | |
| | Pluprf | | | prep | adv | |

It was very difficult to go there, we had to go there by horse and mule.

| | | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|------------|--------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|---|
| 4.10 | <i>Aval</i> | <i>šim</i> | | <i>ami</i> | <i>xala</i> | <i>xano</i> | , |
| | aval šo -im | | | ami | xala | xano | |
| | aval šo -im | | | amən | xala | xanə+FR. VAR. OF | |
| | first go.pst 1pl | | | we.GEN | maternal aunt | home | |
| | adv Pst.ind v:SubAgr | | | pers | n | n | |
| | first go.pst | | | we.gen | maternal aunt | home | |
| | adv Impf | | | pers | n | n | |
| | <i>do</i> | <i>röz</i> | <i>ašanə</i> | <i>xano</i> | <i>isim</i> | . | |
| | do | röz | ašanə | xano | is | -im | |
| | do | röz | ašan | xanə+FR. VAR. OF | is | -im | |
| | two day | | they.GEN | home | stay.pst 1pl | | |
| | cardnum n | | pers | n | Pst.ind v:SubAgr | | |
| | two day | | they.gen | home | stay.pst | | |
| | cardnum n | | pers | n | Impf | | |

First, we would go to the house of our maternal aunt (and) stay at their home for two days.

| | | | | | | | |
|------|-----------|------------|-----------------|------------|----------|------------|--------------|
| 4.11 | <i>Do</i> | <i>röz</i> | <i>am</i> | <i>šim</i> | | <i>ami</i> | <i>pillə</i> |
| | do | röz | am | šo | -im | ami | pillə |
| | do | röz | am ₁ | šo | -im | amən | pillə |
| | two | day | also | go.pst | 1pl | we.GEN | old |
| | cardnum | n | coordconn | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr | pers | adj |
| | two | day | also | go.pst | | we.gen | old |
| | cardnum | n | coordconn | Impf | | pers | adj |

| | | |
|----------------|------------------|---|
| <i>dayi</i> | <i>xano</i> | . |
| dayi | xano | |
| dayi | xanə+FR. VAR. OF | |
| maternal uncle | home | |
| n | n | |
| maternal uncle | home | |
| n | n | |

We would also go at our old maternal uncle's for two days.

| | | | | | | |
|------|------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| 4.12 | <i>Ami</i> | <i>dayi</i> | <i>u</i> | <i>ayam</i> | <i>tazu</i> | <i>radiyo</i> |
| | ami | dayi | u | ayam | tazu | radiyo |
| | amən | dayi | u ₁ | ayam | tazu | radiyo |
| | we.GEN | maternal uncle | that | time | just | radio |
| | pers | n | dem | n | adv | n |
| | we.gen | maternal uncle | that | time | just | radio |
| | pers | n | dem | n | adj | n |

| | |
|----------------|----------------------------|
| <i>bihevud</i> | . |
| bi- h | -ev |
| bə- hə | -əvo |
| pst buy.pst | pstpluprf |
| v:Pst Pst.ind | Pst.ind:PstPluprf v:SubAgr |

buy.pst

Pluprf

In those days, at our maternal uncle's, they had bought a new radio.

| | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|----------------|-----------------|---------|------------------------------|--|
| 4.13 | <i>Marə</i> | <i>jaxtara</i> | <i>nušə</i> | | | |
| | marə | jaxtara | nu- | š | -ə | |
| | mən | jaxtara | nə-+FR. VAR. OF | šo | -e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF | |
| | I.ACCDAT | forgotten | not | go.prs | 3sg.ind | |
| | pers | adj | v:Any | Prs.ind | Prs.ind:SubAgr | |
| | I.accdat | forgotten | not.go.prs | | | |
| | pers | adj | Prs.ind | | | |

| | | | |
|----------------|--|---------------|--|
| <i>ami</i> | <i>dayzakana</i> | <i>mijə</i> | <i>bišim</i> |
| ami | dayzak -an -a | mijə | bi- šo -im |
| amən | dayza -an -a ₁ | mijə | bə- šo -im |
| we.GEN pers | cousin pl acc-dat n n:(Pl) n:(Case) | with postp | pst go.pst 1pl v:Pst Pst.ind v:SubAgr |
| we.gen pers | cousin n | with postp | go.pst Pst.ind |

maalegardı .

maalegardı
maalegardı
sightseeing
adv

sightseeing
adv

I do not forget that we went sightseeing with our cousins.

| | | | | | | |
|------|----------------------|----------------|------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|----------|
| 4.14 | <i>Šahrə</i> | <i>jayelan</i> | <i>yašangə</i> | <i>libas</i> | <i>dogudid</i> | . |
| | šahr -ə | jayelan | yašang -ə | libas | dogud | -id |
| | šahr -ə ₇ | jayelan | yašang -ə ₆ | libas | dogud | -id |
| | city gen n | guy n | pretty attr adj | clothes n | wear.pst 3pl. Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |
| | city n | guy n | pretty adj | clothes n | wear.pst Pst.ind | |

City guys were wearing beautiful dresses.

| | | | | | |
|------|------------------|----------------|--------------------------|------------------------------|----------|
| 4.15 | <i>Ašanə</i> | <i>zanakan</i> | <i>gula</i> | <i>manestid</i> | . |
| | ašanə | zanak -an | gul -a | manest | -id |
| | ašan | zanai -an | gul -a ₁ | manest | -id |
| | they.GEN pers | woman pl n | flower acc-dat n:(Pl) | resemble.pst 3pl. Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |
| | they.gen pers | woman n | flower n | resemble.pst Pst.ind | |

Their women were like flowers.

| | | | | |
|------|--------------|--|----------------------------------|------------|
| 4.16 | <i>Hame</i> | <i>jayə</i> | <i>fanderestim</i> | . |
| | hame | ja -yə | fanderest | -im |
| | hame | ja -a ₁ +FR. VAR. OF all | fandərəst+FR. VAR. OF look at | -im 1pl |
| | adj | spot acc-dat n n:(Case) | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |
| | all quant | spot n | look at Pst.ind | |

We visited all (sightseeing) spots.

| | | | | | |
|------|--------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 4.17 | <i>I</i> | <i>tə</i> | <i>var</i> | = <i>am</i> | <i>jäyelana</i> |
| | i | tə | var | am | jäyelan -a |
| | i | ta ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF | var | am ₁ | jäyelan -ə ₇ +FR. VAR. OF |
| | one | clf | time | also | guy gen |
| | cardnum | nclf | n | coordconn | n n:(Case) |
| | one | clf | time | also | guy.n |
| | cardnum | clf | n | coordconn | n |
| | <i>mijə</i> | <i>bišim</i> | <i>palaxuri</i> | : <i>či</i> | <i>kaifi</i> |
| | mijə | bi- šo -im | palaxuri | či | kaifi |
| | mijə | bə- šo -im | palaxuri | či | kaifi |
| | with | pst go.pst 1pl | eating out | what | pleasure |
| | postp | v:Pst Pst.ind v:SubAgr | adv | excl | n |
| | with | go.pst | eating out | what | pleasure |
| | postp | Pst.ind | adv | adj | n |
| | <i>amarə</i> | <i>badi0</i> | | ! | |
| | amarə | ba- | di | -0 | |
| | amən | bə-+FR. VAR. OF | di ₂ | -0 ₁ | |
| | we.ACCDAT | pst | give.pst 3sg.pst | | |
| | pers | v:Pst | Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr | | |
| | we.accdat | give.pst | | | |
| | pers | Pst.ind | | | |

Once we also went to a restaurant with the guys: what a pleasure!

| | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------|------------------|------------|--------------------|--------------|
| 4.18 | <i>Bad az</i> | <i>čan</i> | <i>ruz</i> | <i>dovaro</i> | <i>vasi</i> |
| | bad az | čan | ruz | dovaro | vasi |
| | bad az | čan | ruz | dovarə+FR. VAR. OF | vasi |
| | after | a few | day | again | have to |
| | prep | quant | n | adv | Mod |
| | after | a few | day | again | have to |
| | prep | quant | n | adv | Mod |
| | <i>vagerdestavim</i> | | | <i>ami</i> | <i>dahat</i> |
| | vagerdest | -av | -im | ami | dahat |
| | vagardest+FR. VAR. OF | -əvi+FR. VAR. OF | -im | amən | dahat |
| | return.pst | pstsbj | 1pl | we.GEN | village |
| | Pst.ind | Pst.sbj:Pst.sbj | v:SubAgr | pers | n |
| | return.pst | | | we.gen | village |
| | Pst.ind | | | pers | n |

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| <i>marə</i> | <i>yama</i> | <i>gifti</i> | . |
| marə | γam | -a | gift |
| mən | γam | -a ₁ | gift |
| I.ACCDAT | sadness | acc-dat | take.pst 3sg.impf |
| pers | n | n:(Case) | Pst.ind Impf:SubAgr |
| I.accdat | sadness | | take.pst |
| pers | n | | Impf |

After several days, we had to return to our village: I was so sad!

Text 5: [Xando “Laugh”]

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|------------------------------|
| 5.1 | <i>Donya</i> | <i>do</i> | <i>zar</i> | <i>niyarzə</i> | . |
| | donya | do | zar | ni- yarz | -ə |
| | donya | do | zar | nə- arz | -e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF |
| | world | two | penny | not to be worth | 3sg.ind |
| | n | cardnum | n | v:Any Prs.ind | Prs.ind:SubAgr |
| | world | two | penny | to be worth.prs | |
| | n | cardnum | n | Prs.ind | |

The world is not worth two pennies.

| | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-------------|------------------|--------------|-----------------|
| 5.2 | <i>Hasə</i> | <i>karə</i> | <i>hana</i> | <i>fikra</i> | . |
| | hasə | karə | hana | fikr | -a |
| | hasə | karə | hana | fikr | -a ₁ |
| | now | cont.part | just this.accdat | thought | acc-dat |
| | adv | adv | dem | n | n:(Case) |
| | now | cont.part | just this.accdat | thought | |
| | adv | adv | dem | n | |

kudandavəm

| | | | |
|---------|----------------|------------------|---|
| kud | -andav- | -əm | . |
| kud | -əndovu- | +FR. VAR. OF -əm | |
| do.pst | pst.cnt | 1sg | |
| Pst.ind | Pst.ind:PstCnt | v:SubAgr | |
| do.pst | | | |
| Pst.ind | | | |

Now I was making just this thought .

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|--------------|------------|-----------------|----------|----------|-------------|
| 5.3 | <i>Hato</i> | <i>vasti</i> | <i>jan</i> | <i>badaxim</i> | | | <i>axar</i> |
| | hato | vasti | jan | ba- | dax | -im | axar |
| | hato | vasti | jan | bə-+FR. VAR. OF | dax | -im | axar |
| | so | have to | body | sbjv | give.prs | 1pl | finally |
| | adv | Mod | n | v:Sbjv | Prs.ind | v:SubAgr | adv |
| | so | have to | body | give.prs | | | finally |
| | adv | Mod | n | Prs.sbjv | | | adv |

| | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|---|
| <i>am</i> | <i>hiči</i> | ! |
| am | hiči | |
| am ₁ | hičči+FR. VAR. OF | |
| also | nothing | |
| coordconn | indfpro | |

also nothing
coordconn indfpro

We must suffer in this way (and) also finally nothing (remains)!

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|------------|------------|---|-----------------|------------|---|-------------|------------|
| 5.4 | <i>Čan</i> | <i>sal</i> | = | <i>ə</i> | <i>piš</i> | - | <i>tarə</i> | <i>yad</i> |
| | čan | sal | | =ə | piš | | tarə | yad |
| | čan | sal | | =ə ₁ | piš | | to | yad |
| | a few | year | | =ezf | ago | | you.ACCDAT | memory |
| | quant | n | | nomprt | adv | | personom | n |
| | a few | year | | ezf | before | | you.accdat | memory |
| | quant | n | | nomprt | adv | | pers | n |

| | | | | | |
|-------------|----------|------------------------------|---|-----------|----------------|
| <i>nayə</i> | | | - | <i>ti</i> | <i>amu</i> |
| n- | ay | -ə | | ti | amu |
| nə- | ay | -e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF | | to | amu |
| not | come.prs | 3sg.ind | | you.GEN | paternal uncle |
| v:Any | Prs.ind | Prs.ind:SubAgr | | personom | n |

come.prs
Prs.ind

you.gen
pers

paternal uncle
n

| | | | | | | |
|------------|------------|-----------------|---|------------|---------------|-----------------|
| <i>say</i> | <i>bu0</i> | | : | <i>šiš</i> | <i>nafara</i> | <i>harif</i> |
| say | bu | -0 | | šiš | nafar | -a |
| say | bu | -0 ₁ | | šiš | nafar | -a ₁ |
| healthy | be.pst | 3sg.pst | | six | person | acc-dat |
| adj | Pst.ind | Pst.ind:SubAgr | | cardnum | n | n:(Case) |
| healthy | be.pst | | | six | person | rival |
| adj | Pst.ind | | | cardnum | n | n |

| | |
|------------|-----------------|
| <i>bu0</i> | . |
| bu | -0 |
| bu | -0 ₁ |
| be.pst | 3sg.pst |
| Pst.ind | Pst.ind:SubAgr |

be.pst
Pst.ind

Several years ago – you do not remember – your paternal uncle was healthy: he could beat six persons.

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------|--------------------------------|------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 5.5 | <i>I</i> | <i>tə</i> | <i>šab</i> | <i>buxoftə</i> | , |
| | i | tə | šab | bu- xoft | -ə |
| | i | ta ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF | šab | bə- xoft | -ə ₃ |
| | one | clf | night | pst fall asleep.pst | 3sg.pstprf |
| | cardnum | nclf | n | v:Pst Pst.ind | Pst.ind:SubAgr |

| | | | |
|---------|-----|-------|-----------------|
| one | clf | night | fall asleep.pst |
| cardnum | clf | n | Pst.ind |

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>di</i> | <i>sob</i> | <i>vinrištə</i> | . |
| di | sob | vinrišt | -0 |
| di ₁ | sob | vinrišt | -0 ₁ |
| more | morning | wake up.neg.pst | 3sg.pst |
| adv | n | Pst.ind | Pst.ind:SubAgr |

| | | |
|------|---------|-----------------|
| more | morning | wake up.neg.pst |
| adv | n | Pst.ind |

One night he fell asleep (and) he did not wake up in the morning anymore.

| | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|----------|--------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 5.6 | <i>Zindigi</i> | <i>i</i> | <i>tə</i> | <i>nafas</i> | <i>o</i> | , |
| | zindigi | i | tə | nafas | o | |
| | zindigi | i | ta ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF | nafas | ə ₂ +FR. VAR. OF | |
| | life | one | clf | breath | be.3sg.prss | |
| | n | cardnum | nclf | n | Prs.ind | |

| | | | | |
|------|---------|-----|--------|-------------|
| life | one | clf | breath | be.3sg.prss |
| n | cardnum | clf | n | Prs.ind |

| | | | | | |
|-----------|----------------|--------------|---|-----------------|--------------|
| <i>šu</i> | | <i>bijir</i> | , | <i>di</i> | <i>bujur</i> |
| šo | -u | bijir | | di | bujur |
| šo | -e+FR. VAR. OF | bijir | | di ₁ | bujur |
| go.prss | 3sg.ind | down | | more | up |
| Prs.ind | Prs.ind:SubAgr | adv | | adv | adv |

| | | | | |
|---------|--|------|------|-----|
| go.prss | | down | more | up |
| Prs.ind | | adv | adv | adv |

nayə

| | | |
|-------|----------|------------------------------|
| n- | ay | -ə |
| nə- | ay | -e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF |
| not | come.prs | 3sg.ind |
| v:Any | Prs.ind | Prs.ind:SubAgr |

come.prs
Prs.ind

Life is a breath, it goes down and it does not come up anymore.

5.7

| <i>Ami</i> | <i>dila</i> | <i>xuša</i> | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------|------------|
| ami | dil -a | xuš -a | | |
| amən | dil -a ₁ | xoš+FR. VAR. OF -a ₄ | | |
| we.GEN | heart acc-dat | pleased objcomp | | |
| pers | n n:(Case) | adj n:Any | | |
| we.gen | heart | pleased | | |
| pers | n | adj | | |
| <i>godim</i> | <i>be</i> | <i>ami</i> | | |
| god -im | be | ami | | |
| kud+FR. VAR. OF -im | bə+FR. VAR. OF | amən | | |
| do.pst 1pl | in | we.GEN | | |
| Pst.ind v:SubAgr | prep | pers | | |
| do.pst | in | we.gen | | |
| Pst.ind | prep | pers | | |
| <i>malomanal</i> | <i>bextar</i> | <i>an</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>ki</i> |
| malomanal | bextar | an | ə | ki |
| malomanal | bextar | an ₁ | ə ₂ | ki |
| money and property | better | this | be.3sg.prs | that |
| n | adj | dem | Prs.ind | advlizer |
| money and property | better | this | be.3sg.prs | that |
| n | adj | dem | Prs.ind | subordconn |
| <i>ami</i> | <i>dil</i> | <i>hato</i> | <i>xuš</i> | |
| ami | dil | hato | xuš | |
| amən | dil | hato | xoš+FR. VAR. OF | |
| we.GEN | heart | so | pleased | |
| pers | n | adv | adj | |
| we.gen | heart | so | pleased | |
| pers | n | adv | adj | |

bamanə

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------|------------------------------|---|
| ba- | man | -ə | . |
| bə-+FR. VAR. OF | man | -e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF | |
| sbjv | remain.prs | 3sg.ind | |

v:Sbjv Prs.ind Prs.ind:SubAgr

remain.prs

Prs.ind

We gave our heart to our money and property, (and) it would be better to be happy with this.

5.8

Maštə

Amad

tarə

yad

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-------------|--------|
| maštə | Amad | tarə | yad |
| mašti+FR. VAR. OF | Amad | to | yad |
| mashti | Ahmad | you.ACCLDAT | memory |

adj

| | | |
|-------|------------|--------|
| nprop | you.accdat | memory |
| adj | pers | n |

ayə

,

xuda

ana

| | | | |
|----------|------------------------------|------|-----------------|
| ay | -ə | xuda | ana |
| ay | -e+DIAL. VAR. OF,FR. VAR. OF | xuda | an ₂ |
| come.prs | 3sg.ind | God | he.ACCLDAT |

Prs.ind Prs.ind:SubAgr

come.prs

Prs.ind

God

he.accdat

n pers

biyamarzə

?

| | | | |
|------|-------------|-----------------|--|
| bi- | amarz | -ə | |
| bə- | amarz | -ə ₁ | |
| sbjv | forgive.prs | 3sg.sbjv | |

v:Sbjv Prs.ind Sbjv:SubAgr

forgive.prs

Prs.sbjv

Do you remember Mr [Mašti] Ahmad, may God forgive him?

5.9

Dayam anə gazə laxo vaz bu0

| | | | | | | |
|--------|-----------------|---------------------|---------|------|--------|-----------------|
| dayam | anə | gaz -ə | laxo | vaz | bu | -0 |
| dayam | an ₂ | gaz -ə ₇ | laxo | vaz | bu | -0 ₁ |
| always | he.GEN | tooth gen | opening | open | be.pst | 3sg.pst |

adv pers n n:(Case) n adj Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr

| | | | | | |
|--------|--------|-------|---------|------|---------|
| always | he.gen | tooth | opening | open | be.pst |
| adv | pers | n | n | adj | Pst.ind |

| | | | | | |
|--------|---------------|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------|----------|
| , | <i>mardom</i> | <i>ana</i> | <i>kosxul</i> | <i>danestid</i> | . |
| | mardom | ana | kosxul | danest | -id |
| | mardom | <i>an₂</i> | kosxul | danest | -id |
| | people | <i>he.ACCDAT</i> | crackpot | consider.pst | 3pl. |
| n | | pers | n | Pst.ind | v:SubAgr |
| people | | <i>he.accdat</i> | crackpot | consider.pst | |
| n | | pers | n | | Impf |

He would always chuckle, the people would consider him a crackpot.

| | | | | | | |
|------|-------------|------------|-----------------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 5.10 | <i>I</i> | <i>var</i> | <i>ana</i> | <i>vaversəm</i> | <i>ke</i> | <i>čarə</i> |
| | i | var | ana | vavers -əm | ke | čarə |
| | i | var | <i>an₂</i> | vaversi -əm | ki+FR. VAR. OF | čarə |
| | one | time | <i>he.ACCDAT</i> | ask.pst 1sg | that | why |
| | cardnum | n | pers | Pst.ind v:SubAgr | advlizer | adv |
| | one | time | <i>he.accdat</i> | ask.pst | that | why |
| | cardnum | n | pers | Pst.ind | advlizer | adv |
| | <i>hato</i> | <i>ti</i> | <i>gazə</i> | <i>laxo</i> | <i>vaz</i> | <i>ə</i> |
| | hato | ti | gaz -ə | laxo | vaz | ə |
| | hato | to | gaz -ə ₂ | laxo | vaz | ə ₂ |
| | so | you.GEN | tooth gen | opening | open | be.3sg.prs |
| | adv | persnom | n n:(Case) | n | adj | Prs.ind |
| | so | you.gen | tooth | opening | open | be.3sg.prs |
| | adv | pers | n | n | adj | Prs.ind |
| | <i>teri</i> | <i>aib</i> | <i>u</i> | . | | |
| | teri | aib | u | | | |
| | to | aib | ə ₂ +FR. VAR. OF | | | |
| | you.ACCDAT | fault | be.3sg.prs | | | |
| | persnom | n | Prs.ind | | | |
| | you.accdat | fault | be.3sg.prs | | | |
| | persaccdat | n | Prs.ind | | | |

Once I asked him: “Why do you chuckle so? It is a fault [on your side].

| | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------|
| 5.11 | <i>Xuri</i> | <i>ništavə</i> | <i>giftə</i> | . | <i>ta in ke</i> |
| | xuri | n- | ištavə | gift -o | ta in ke |
| | xuri | nə- | ištavə | gift -ə ₈ +FR. VAR. OF | ta in ke |
| | oneself.sg.accdat | not | hearing | take.pst 3sg.prspf | till |
| | refl | adj:Any | adj | Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr | advlizer |
| | oneself.sg.accdat | hearing | | take.pst | |
| | refl | adj | | Pst.ind | |

| | | | | | | |
|---|-------------|----------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|--|---------------|
| <i>i</i> | <i>var</i> | <i>hato</i> | <i>xandu</i> | <i>daškani0</i> | | <i>, marə</i> |
| i | var | hato | xandu | daškani -0 | | marə |
| i | var | hato | xandu | daškani -0 ₁ | | mən |
| one | time | so | laugh | burst.pst 3sg.pst | | I.ACCDAT |
| cardnum | n | adv | n | Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr | | pers |
| one | time | so | laugh | burst.pst | | I.accdat |
| cardnum | n | adv | n | Pst.ind | | pers |
| <i>vagardast0</i> | | | | | | |
| vagardast -0 | | | | | | |
| vagardeſt+FR. VAR. OF -0 ₁ | | | | | | |
| turn.pst 3sg.pst | | | | | | |
| Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr | | | | | | |
| turn.pst | | | | | | |
| Pst.ind | | | | | | |
| <i>bugoſt0</i> | | | | | | |
| bu- goft -0 | | | | | | |
| bə- guft+FR. VAR. OF -0 ₁ | | | | | | |
| pst say.pst 3sg.pst | | | | | | |
| v:Pst Pst.ind Pst.ind:SubAgr | | | | | | |
| say.pst | | | | | | |
| Pst.ind | | | | | | |
| = ə to i | | | | | | |
| =ə to i | | | | | | |
| =quot you one | | | | | | |
| quot persnom cardnum | | | | | | |
| <i>tə</i> <i>kar</i> <i>bextar</i> <i>ji</i> <i>xandu</i> | | | | | | |
| tə | kar | bextar | ji | xandu | | |
| ta ₁ +DIAL. VAR. OF | kar | bextar | ji | xandu | | |
| clf | activity | better | than | laugh | | |
| nclf | n | adj | prep | n | | |
| clf | activity | better | than | laugh | | |
| clf | n | adj | prep | n | | |
| <i>dari</i> | <i>marə</i> | <i>bugo0</i> | | . | | |
| dar -i | marə | bu- go -0 | | | | |
| dar -i ₃ | mən | bə- go -0 ₃ | | | | |
| have.prs 2sg | I.ACCDAT | imp say.prs 2sg.imp | | | | |
| Prs.ind v:SubAgr | pers | Imp:Imp Prs.ind Imp:SubAgr | | | | |
| have.prs | I.accdat | say.prs | | | | |
| Prs.ind | pers | Imp | | | | |

He pretended not to hear (me), till that he suddenly burst into a laugh, he turned to me (and) said: "If you have something better than laughing, tell me!".

Sketch of Gilaki grammar

Contents

- [1 Introduction](#)
- [2 Phonemes](#)
- [3 Morpheme types](#)
- [4 Word categories](#)
- [5 Inflection](#)
- [6 Derivation](#)
- [7 Clitics](#)
- [8 Compounding](#)
- [9 Morpho-syntactic Feature System](#)
- [10 Allomorphy](#)
- [11 Natural Classes](#)
- [12 Residue](#)
- [A Gilaki morphemes by type](#)
- [B Gilaki morphemes by category](#)

1 Introduction

Gilaki is a language spoken in Gilan. This paper gives a preliminary sketch of Gilaki morphology following a basic item-and-arrangement model. The sketch covers the following topics:

- Phonemes in section [2](#).
- Morpheme types in section [3](#).

- Word categories in section [4](#).
- Inflection in section [5](#).
- Derivation in section [6](#).
- Clitics in section [7](#).
- Compounding in section [8](#).
- Morpho-syntactic feature system in section [9](#).
- Allomorphy in section [10](#).
- Natural classes in section [11](#).
- Residue in section [12](#).

There also are two appendices. The first, Appendix [A](#), lists morphemes arranged by morpheme type. The second, Appendix [B](#), lists morphemes arranged by lexical category.

2 Phonemes

Gilaki has 28 phonemes as shown in the following table (the first column shows the orthographic representations):

| Representation | Description |
|----------------|---------------------------------|
| a | low central unrounded vowel |
| b | voiced bilabial stop |
| č | voiceless palatal affricate |
| d | voiced alveolar stop |
| e | mid front unrounded vowel |
| ə | mid central unrounded vowel |
| f | voiceless labiodental fricative |
| g | voiced velar stop |
| h | voiceless glottal fricative |
| i | high front unrounded vowel |
| ј | voiced palatal affricate |
| k | voiceless velar stop |

| | |
|----------|------------------------------|
| l | alveolar lateral |
| m | bilabial nasal |
| n | alveolar nasal |
| o | mid back rounded vowel |
| p | voiceless bilabial stop |
| r | alveolar trill |
| s | voiceless alveolar fricative |
| š | voiceless palatal fricative |
| t | voiceless alveolar stop |
| u | high back rounded vowel |
| v | voiced labiodental fricative |
| x | voiceless velar fricative |
| y | palatal approximante |
| z | voiced alveolar fricative |
| ɾ | voiceless glottal stop |
| ɣ | voiced velar fricative |

3 Morpheme types

Words in this analysis of Gilaki are formed from morphemes of 7 types. The following table lists the types along with a count of how many instances are in the lexicon. Appendix [A](#) lists some or all of these.

| Count | Name | Description | Appendix |
|-------|----------|--|---------------------|
| 7 | enclitic | An enclitic is a clitic that is phonologically joined at the end of a preceding word to form a single unit. Orthographically, it may attach to the preceding word. | A.1 |
| 4 | infix | An infix is an affix that is inserted within a root or stem. | A.2 |
| 11 | phrase | A phrase is a syntactic structure that consists of more than one word but lacks the subject-predicate organization of a clause. | A.3 |
| 7 | prefix | A prefix is an affix that is joined before a root or stem. | A.4 |
| 1 | root | A root is the portion of a word that (i) is common to a set of derived or inflected forms, if any, when all af- | A.5 |

| | | | |
|-----|--------|---|---------------------|
| | | fixes are removed, (ii) is not further analyzable into meaningful elements, being morphologically simple, and, (iii) carries the principle portion of meaning of the words in which it functions. | |
| 296 | stem | "A stem is the root or roots of a word, together with any derivational affixes, to which inflectional affixes are added." (LinguaLinks Library). A stem "may consist solely of a single root morpheme (i.e. a 'simple' stem as in man), or of two root morphemes (e.g. a 'compound' stem, as in blackbird), or of a root morpheme plus a derivational affix (i.e. a 'complex' stem, as in manly, unmanly, manliness). All have in common the notion that it is to the stem that inflectional affixes are attached." (Crystal, 1997:362) | A.6 |
| 48 | suffix | A suffix is an affix that is attached to the end of a root or stem. | A.7 |

4 Word categories

In this analysis of Gilaki there are 54 syntactic categories for words. The following is a complete list of the categories that are posited (along with a count of how many instances of each are found in the lexicon; some or all of these are in the appendix).

- [Adjective](#) (25)
- [Adposition](#)
- [Adverb](#) (27)
- [Adverbializer](#) (5)
- [Cardinal numeral](#) (5)
- [Classifier](#)
- [Compound verb](#)
- [Connective](#)
- [Coordinating connective](#) (2)
- [Demonstrative](#) (4)
- [Exclamatory pronoun](#) (1)
- [Imperative](#)

- [Imperfect](#)
- [Indefinite article \(1\)](#)
- [Indefinite pronoun \(1\)](#)
- [Infinitive](#)
- [Interjection \(2\)](#)
- [Modal verb \(1\)](#)
- [Nominal particle \(2\)](#)
- [Noun \(93\)](#)
- [Noun classifier \(1\)](#)
- [Numeral](#)
- [Ordinal numeral](#)
- [Participle](#)
- [Past indicative \(46\)](#)
- [Past participle](#)
- [Past subjunctive](#)
- [PastContinuous](#)
- [Perfect](#)
- [Personal pronoun \(5\)](#)
- [Personal pronoun accusative-dative](#)
- [Personal pronoun genitive](#)
- [Personal pronoun nominative \(1\)](#)
- [Phrasal verb \(1\)](#)
- [Pluperfect](#)
- [Possessive pronoun](#)
- [Postposition \(8\)](#)
- [Preposition \(6\)](#)
- [Present indicative \(14\)](#)
- [Present subjunctive](#)
- [Pro-adverb](#)
- [Pro-form](#)

- [Pronoun](#)
- [Proper Noun](#) (6)
- [Quantifier](#) (1)
- [Quotative](#) (1)
- [Reflexive pronoun](#) (2)
- [Subordinating connective](#)
- [Transitive verb](#)
- [V:Pst](#)
- [V:Sbjv](#)
- [V:SubAgr](#)
- [Verb](#)
- [Verbal particle](#)

The categories are defined as follows (the category's abbreviation is shown within square brackets):

4.1 Adjective [adj]

An adjective is a part of speech whose members modify nouns. An adjective specifies the attributes of a noun referent. Note: this is one case among many. Adjectives are a class of modifiers.

The Adjective category has 1 inflection class: [***](#).

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.1](#).)

4.2 Adposition [adp]

An adposition is a part of speech whose members are of a closed set and occur before or after a complement composed of a noun phrase, noun, pronoun, or clause that functions as a noun phrase and forms a single structure with the complement to express its grammatical and semantic relation to another unit within a clause.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.2](#).)

4.3 Adverb [adv]

An adverb, narrowly defined, is a part of speech whose members modify verbs for such categories as time, manner, place, or direction. An adverb, broadly defined, is a part of speech whose members modify any constituent class of words other than nouns, such as verbs, adjectives, adverbs, phrases, clauses, or sentences. Under this definition, the possible type of modification depends on the class of the constituent being modified.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.3](#).)

4.4 Adverbializer [advlizer]

An adverbializer is a subordinating connective that links a subordinate clause to a main clause, and indicates that the subordinate clause has an 'adverbial' or interpropositional relation to the main clause, indicating purpose, condition, time, and location.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.4](#).)

4.5 Cardinal numeral [cardnum]

A cardinal numeral is a numeral of the class whose members are considered basic in form, are used in counting, and are used in expressing how many objects are referred to.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.5](#).)

4.6 Classifier [clf]

A classifier is a part of speech whose members express the classification of a noun.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.6](#).)

4.7 Compound verb [CompV]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.7](#).)

4.8 Connective [conn]

Also known as a conjunction, a connective is a class of parts of speech whose members syntactically link words or larger constituents, and expresses a semantic relationship between them. A conjunction is positionally fixed relative to one or more of the elements related by it, thus distinguishing it from constituents such as English conjunctive adverbs.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.8](#).)

4.9 Coordinating connective [coordconn]

A coordinating connective is a connective that links constituents without syntactically subordinating one to the other.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.9](#).)

4.10 Demonstrative [dem]

A demonstrative is a determiner that is used deictically to indicate a referent's spatial, temporal, or discourse location. A demonstrative functions as a modifier of a noun, or a pronoun.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.10](#).)

4.11 Exclamatory pronoun [excl]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.11](#).)

4.12 Imperative [Imp]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Imperative category has 1 inflectional template:

(This template has not been given a name yet.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.12](#).)

4.13 Imperfect [Impf]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Imperfect category has 1 inflectional template:

(This template has not been given a name yet.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.13](#).)

4.14 Indefinite article [indf]

An indefinite article is a part of speech whose members are used to refer to an entity (or class of entities) which is not capable of specific identification.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.14](#).)

4.15 Indefinite pronoun [indfpro]

An indefinite pronoun is a pronoun that belongs to a class whose members indicate indefinite reference.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.15](#).)

4.16 Infinitive [Inf]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Infinitive category has 1 inflectional template:

(This template has not been given a name yet.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.16](#).)

4.17 Interjection [interj]

An interjection is a part of speech, typically brief in form, such as one syllable or word, whose members are used most often as exclamations or parts of an exclamation. An interjection, typically expressing an emotional reaction, often with respect to an accompanying sentence, is not syntactically related to other accompanying expressions, and may include a combination of sounds not otherwise found in the language.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.17](#).)

4.18 Modal verb [Mod]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.18](#).)

4.19 Nominal particle [nomprt]

A nominal particle is a member of a closed class of particles that co-occur with nouns.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.19](#).)

4.20 Noun [n]

A noun is a broad classification of parts of speech which include substantives and nominals.

The Noun category has 1 inflectional template:

Noun

This template is valid for not only this category, but also its subcategory: [Proper Noun](#).

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.20](#).)

4.21 Noun classifier [nclf]

A noun classifier is a part of speech whose members express the classification of a noun

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.21](#).)

4.22 Numeral [nom]

A numeral is a part of speech that describes a numerical quantity.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.22](#).)

4.23 Ordinal numeral [ordnum]

An ordinal numeral is a numeral belonging to a class whose members designate positions in a sequence.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.23](#).)

4.24 Participle [ptcp]

A participle refers to non-finite forms of verbs other than infinitive. In some uses it is restricted to those forms that are used as an adjective.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.24](#).)

4.25 Past indicative [Pst.ind]

The past stem of a verb is the basis for the formation of past tenses and some infinite verbal forms

The Past indicative category has 1 inflectional template:

(This template has not been given a name yet.)

The Past indicative category has 1 inflection class: [\[absten.pst\]](#).

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.25](#).)

4.26 Past participle [Pst.ptcp]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Past participle category has 1 inflectional template:

(This template has not been given a name yet.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.26](#).)

4.27 Past subjunctive [Pst.sbj]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Past subjunctive category has 1 inflectional template:

(This template has not been given a name yet.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.27](#).)

4.28 PastContinuous [PstCnt]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The PastContinuous category has 1 inflectional template:

(This template has not been given a name yet.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.28](#).)

4.29 Perfect [Prf]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Perfect category has 1 inflectional template:

(This template has not been given a name yet.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.29](#).)

4.30 Personal pronoun [pers]

A personal pronoun is a pronoun that expresses a distinction of person deixis.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.30](#).)

4.31 Personal pronoun accusative-dative [persaccdat]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.31](#).)

4.32 Personal pronoun genitive [persgen]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.32](#).)

4.33 Personal pronoun nominative [persnom]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.33](#).)

4.34 Phrasal verb [PhrV]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.34](#).)

4.35 Pluperfect [Pluprf]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Pluperfect category has 1 inflectional template:

(This template has not been given a name yet.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.35](#).)

4.36 Possessive pronoun [poss]

A possessive pronoun is a pronoun that expresses ownership and relationships like ownership, such as kinship, and other forms of association.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.36](#).)

4.37 Postposition [postp]

A postposition is an adposition that occurs after its complement.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.37](#).)

4.38 Preposition [prep]

A preposition is an adposition that occurs before its complement.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.38](#).)

4.39 Present indicative [Prs.ind]

The present stem of a verb is the basis for the formation of present tenses

The Present indicative category has 1 inflectional template:

(This template has not been given a name yet.)

The Present indicative category has 1 inflection class: [\[absten.prs\]](#).

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.39](#).)

4.40 Present subjunctive [Prs.sbjv]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The Present subjunctive category has 1 inflectional template:

(This template has not been given a name yet.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.40](#).)

4.41 Pro-adverb [pro-adv]

A pro-adverb is a pro-form that substitutes for an adverb or other expression having an adverbial function.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.41](#).)

4.42 Pro-form [pro-form]

A pro-form is a part of speech whose members usually substitute for other constituents, including phrases, clauses, or sentences, and whose meaning is recoverable from the linguistic or extralinguistic context.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.42](#).)

4.43 Pronoun [pro]

A pronoun is a pro-form which functions like a noun and substitutes for a noun or noun phrase.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.43](#).)

4.44 Proper Noun [nprop]

Proper noun, also referred to as proper names, is the class of nouns that are used to address particular persons or culturally significant personages or places. They refer to specific entities and are not usually with articles, modifiers, or possessors.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.44](#).)

4.45 Quantifier [quant]

A quantifier is a determiner that expresses a referent's definite or indefinite number or amount. A quantifier functions as a modifier of a noun, or a pronoun.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.45](#).)

4.46 Quotative [quot]

Introduces direct speech.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.46](#).)

4.47 Reflexive pronoun [refl]

A reflexive pronoun is a pronoun that has coreference with the subject.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.47](#).)

4.48 Subordinating connective [subordconn]

A subordinating connective is a connective that links constructions by making one of them a constituent of another. The subordinating conjunction typically marks the incorporated constituent.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.48](#).)

4.49 Transitive verb [vt]

A transitive verb is a verb that takes a direct object, and describes a relation between two participants.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.49](#).)

4.50 V:Pst [V:Pst]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.50](#).)

4.51 V:Sbjv [Sbjv]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The V:Sbjv category has 1 inflectional template:

[\(This template has not been given a name yet.\)](#)

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.51](#).)

4.52 V:SubAgr [V:SubAgr]

(This category does not yet have a description.)

The V:SubAgr category has 1 inflectional template:

Simple

The V:SubAgr category has 1 inflection class: ***.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.52](#).)

4.53 Verb [v]

A verb is a part of speech whose members typically signal events and actions; constitute, singly or in a phrase, a minimal predicate in a clause; govern the number and types of other constituents which may occur in the clause; and, in inflectional languages, may be inflected for tense, aspect, voice, modality, or agreement with other constituents in person, number, or grammatical gender.

The Verb category has 1 inflectional template:

(This template has not been given a name yet.)

This template is valid for not only this category, but also all of its subcategories: Compound verb, Imperative, Imperfect, Infinitive, Modal verb, Past indicative, Past participle, Past subjunctive, Past Continuous, Perfect, Phrasal verb, Pluperfect, Present indicative, Present subjunctive, Transitive verb, V:Pst, V:Sbjv, and V:Sub-Agr.

The Verb category has 1 inflectable feature: absolute tense.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.53](#).)

4.54 Verbal particle [verbprt]

A verbal particle is a member of a closed class of particles which co-occur with some verbs to form phrasal verbs. In some languages, verbal particles are identical to certain adpositions.

(See instances from the lexicon in appendix [B.54](#).)

5 Inflection

In this analysis of Gilaki the following word categories are inflected:

Noun ([5.1](#))

Verb ([5.2](#))

In the inflectional templates expressed below, parentheses indicate that a slot is optional.

5.1 Noun inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Noun category and its subcategories.

5.1.1 Noun Templates

The category Noun has the following template.

5.1.1.1 Noun

This inflectional template for Noun has the following slots after the stem.

| Stem | (Pl) | (Case) |
|---------|------------------------|--------|
| an 'pl' | a 'acc-dat' ə 'gen' | |

5.1.2 Noun Slots and Fillers

The following is a listing of the fillers of the slots involved in Noun inflection.

5.1.2.1 Case

These are the morphemes in the Case slot.

| Form | Gloss | Definition | Allomorphy | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|---|------------|--------------|---|--|--|
| a | 'acc-dat' | The definition is missing. Please add it. <table border="1"><tr><td>Allomorph</td><td>Environments</td></tr><tr><td>a</td><td></td></tr></table> | Allomorph | Environments | a | | |
| Allomorph | Environments | | | | | | |
| a | | | | | | | |

| | | | | |
|----------|-------|---|------|--|
| | | ya | /[V] | |
| a | 'gen' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |

5.1.2.2 Pl

These are the morphemes in the Pl slot.

Form Gloss Definition

an 'pl' The definition is missing. Please add it.

5.1.3 Proper Noun inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Proper Noun category.

5.1.3.1 Proper Noun Templates

There are no inflectional templates for Proper Noun.

5.1.3.2 Proper Noun Slots and Fillers

The category Proper Noun does not define any slots.

5.2 Verb inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Verb category and its subcategories.

5.2.1 Verb Templates

The category Verb has the following template.

5.2.1.1 (This template has not been given a name yet.)

This inflectional template for Verb has the following slots before and after the stem.

| | | |
|------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| <u>Pst</u> | Stem | <u>SubAgr</u> |
| | | bə 'pst' |
| | | |
| | e '3sg.ind' | |
| | im '1pl' | |

| | |
|-----------|--------------|
| i | '3sg.impf' |
| ə | '3sg.pstprf' |
| i | '3sg.sbj' |
| ən | 'inf' |
| id | '3pl.' |
| ə | '3sg.prspf' |
| ə | 'ptcp.pst' |
| o | '2sg.imp' |
| əm | '1sg' |
| o | '3sg.pst' |
| ə | '3sg.sbjv' |
| i | '2sg' |

5.2.2 Verb Slots and Fillers

The following is a listing of the fillers of the slots involved in Verb inflection. These slots are also valid for the templates defined by these subcategories: [Imperative](#), [Imperfect](#), [Infinitive](#), [Past indicative](#), [Past participle](#), [Past subjunctive](#), [Past-Continuous](#), [Perfect](#), [Pluperfect](#), [Present indicative](#), [Present subjunctive](#), [V:Sbjv](#), and [V:SubAgr](#).

5.2.2.1 Imp

These are the morphemes in the Imp slot.

| Form | Gloss | Definition | Allomorphy |
|-----------|-------|---|------------|
| bə | 'imp' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | |

5.2.2.2 Pst

These are the morphemes in the Pst slot.

| Form | Gloss | Definition | | Allomorphy |
|------|-------|---|---------------------|------------|
| bə | 'pst' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| | | Allomorph | Environments | |
| | | bə | | |
| | | &0 | /# [C] [VowO], /[V] | |
| | | bi | /# [C] [Ye] | |
| | | bu | /# [C] [VowUorO] | |
| | | bo | /# [C] [VowUorO] | |
| | | b | / [V] | |
| | | bi | | |

5.2.2.3 Pst.ptcp

These are the morphemes in the Pst.ptcp slot.

| Form | Gloss | Definition | | Allomorphy |
|------|------------|---|---------------------|------------|
| bə | 'pst.ptcp' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| | | Allomorph | Environments | |
| | | bə | | |
| | | &0 | /# [C] [VowO], /[V] | |
| | | bi | /# [C] [Ye] | |
| | | bu | /# [C] [VowUorO] | |
| | | bo | /# [C] [VowUorO] | |
| | | b | / [V] | |
| | | bi | | |

5.2.2.4 Pst.sbj

These are the morphemes in the Pst.sbj slot.

| Form | Gloss | Definition | | Allomorphy |
|------|----------|---|--------------|------------|
| əvi | 'pstsbj' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| | | Allomorph | Environments | |
| | | əvi | | |

| | | | | |
|--|--|-----------|--------------|--|
| | | əv | <u>/ [V]</u> | |
|--|--|-----------|--------------|--|

5.2.2.5 PstCnt

These are the morphemes in the PstCnt slot.

| Form | Gloss | Definition | | Allomorphy |
|---------------|-----------|---|--------------|------------|
| əndovu | 'pst.cnt' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| | | Allomorph | Environments | |
| | | əndovu | | |
| | | əndov | <u>/ [V]</u> | |

5.2.2.6 PstPluprf

These are the morphemes in the PstPluprf slot.

| Form | Gloss | Definition | | Allomorphy |
|------------|-------------|---|--------------|------------|
| əvo | 'pstpluprf' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| | | Allomorph | Environments | |
| | | əvo | | |
| | | əv | <u>/ [V]</u> | |
| | | ev | | |

5.2.2.7 PstPrf

These are the morphemes in the PstPrf slot.

Form Gloss Definition

ə 'pstprf' The definition is missing. Please add it.

5.2.2.8 Sbjv

These are the morphemes in the Sbjv slot.

| Form | Gloss | Definition | | Allomorphy |
|-----------|--------|---|-----------------------------|------------|
| bə | 'sbjv' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| | | Allomorph | Environments | |
| | | bə | | |
| | | &0 | <u>/# [C] [VowO], / [V]</u> | |
| | | bi | <u>/# [C] [Ye]</u> | |
| | | bu | <u>/# [C] [VowUorO]</u> | |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|-----------|-------------------------|--|--|
| | | bo | <u>/# [C] [VowUorO]</u> | | |
| | | b | <u>/[V]</u> | | |
| | | bi | | | |

5.2.2.9 SubAgr

These are the morphemes in the SubAgr slot.

| Form | Gloss | Definition | | Allomorphy |
|-----------|--------------|---|-----------------------------|------------|
| e | '3sg.ind' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| im | '1pl' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| | | Allomorph | Environments | |
| | | im | | |
| | | yim | <u>/[VMinusYe]</u> | |
| | | *** | <u>/[Ye]</u> , <u>/[He]</u> | |
| i | '3sg.impf' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| ə | '3sg.pstprf' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| i | '3sg.sbj' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| ən | 'inf' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| id | '3pl.' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| ə | '3sg.prspf' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| ə | 'ptcp.pst' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| o | '2sg.imp' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| əm | '1sg' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| o | '3sg.pst' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| ə | '3sg.sbjv' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |
| i | '2sg' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | | |

5.2.3 Imperative inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Imperative category and its subcategories.

5.2.3.1 Imperative Templates

The category Imperative has the following template.

5.2.3.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Imperative has the following slots before and after the stem.

| <u>Imp</u> | Stem | <u>SubAgr</u> <u>bə</u> 'imp' |
|------------|---|----------------------------------|
| | e '3sg.ind' im '1pl' i '3sg.impf' ə '3sg.pstprf' i '3sg.sbj' ən 'inf' id '3pl.' ə '3sg.prspf' ə 'ptcp.pst' o '2sg.imp' əm '1sg' o '3sg.pst' ə '3sg.sbjv' i '2sg' | |

5.2.3.2 Imperative Slots and Fillers

The category Imperative does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: Imp, Pst, Pst.ptcp, Pst.sbj, PstCnt, PstPluprf, PstPrf, Sbjv, and SubAgr.

5.2.4 Perfect inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Perfect category and its subcategories.

5.2.4.1 Perfect Templates

The category Perfect has the following template.

5.2.4.1.1 (This template has not been given a name yet.)

This inflectional template for Perfect has the following slots before and after the stem.

| Pst | Stem | PstPrf | SubAgr |
|-----|------------|---|----------|
| | ə 'pstprf' | e '3sg.ind' im '1pl' i '3sg.impf' ə '3sg.pstprf' i '3sg.sbj' ən 'inf' id '3pl.' ə '3sg.prspf' ə 'ptcp.pst' o '2sg.imp' əm '1sg' o '3sg.pst' ə '3sg.sbjv' i '2sg' | bə 'pst' |

5.2.4.2 Perfect Slots and Fillers

The category Perfect does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.5 Modal verb inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Modal verb category.

5.2.5.1 Modal verb Templates

There are no inflectional templates for Modal verb.

5.2.5.2 Modal verb Slots and Fillers

The category Modal verb does not define any slots.

5.2.6 Pluperfect inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Pluperfect category and its subcategories.

5.2.6.1 Pluperfect Templates

The category Pluperfect has the following template.

5.2.6.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Pluperfect has the following slots before and after the stem.

| Pst | Stem | PstPluprf | SubAgr |
|-----|------------------------|---|-----------------|
| | əvo 'pstpluprf' | e '3sg.ind' im '1pl' i '3sg.impf' ə '3sg.pstprf' i '3sg.sbj' ən 'inf' id '3pl.' ə '3sg.prspf' ə 'ptcp.pst' o '2sg.imp' əm '1sg' o '3sg.pst' ə '3sg.sbjv' i '2sg' | bə 'pst' |

5.2.6.2 Pluperfect Slots and Fillers

The category Pluperfect does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.7 Infinitive inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Infinitive category and its subcategories.

5.2.7.1 Infinitive Templates

The category Infinitive has the following template.

5.2.7.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Infinitive has the following slot after the stem.

| Stem | <u>SubAgr</u> |
|------|---------------|
| e | '3sg.ind' |
| im | '1pl' |
| i | '3sg.impf' |
| ə | '3sg.pstprf' |
| i | '3sg.sbj' |
| ən | 'inf' |
| id | '3pl.' |
| ə | '3sg.prspf' |
| ə | 'ptcp.pst' |
| o | '2sg.imp' |
| əm | '1sg' |
| o | '3sg.pst' |
| ə | '3sg.sbjv' |
| i | '2sg' |

5.2.7.2 Infinitive Slots and Fillers

The category Infinitive does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.8 Transitive verb inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Transitive verb category.

5.2.8.1 Transitive verb Templates

There are no inflectional templates for Transitive verb.

5.2.8.2 Transitive verb Slots and Fillers

The category Transitive verb does not define any slots.

5.2.9 Phrasal verb inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Phrasal verb category.

5.2.9.1 Phrasal verb Templates

There are no inflectional templates for Phrasal verb.

5.2.9.2 Phrasal verb Slots and Fillers

The category Phrasal verb does not define any slots.

5.2.10 Past indicative inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Past indicative category and its subcategories.

5.2.10.1 Past indicative Templates

The category Past indicative has the following template.

5.2.10.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Past indicative has the following slots before and after the stem.

| Pst | Stem | SubAgr |
|-----|--------------|----------|
| | | bə 'pst' |
| e | '3sg.ind' | |
| im | '1pl' | |
| i | '3sg.impf' | |
| ə | '3sg.pstprf' | |
| i | '3sg.sbj' | |
| ən | 'inf' | |
| id | '3pl.' | |
| ə | '3sg.prspf' | |
| ə | 'ptcp.pst' | |
| o | '2sg.imp' | |
| əm | '1sg' | |
| o | '3sg.pst' | |
| ə | '3sg.sbjv' | |
| i | '2sg' | |

5.2.10.2 Past indicative Slots and Fillers

The category Past indicative does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.11 V:SubAgr inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the V:SubAgr category and its subcategories.

5.2.11.1 V:SubAgr Templates

The category V:SubAgr has the following template.

5.2.11.1.1 Simple

This inflectional template for V:SubAgr has the following slot after the stem.

| Stem | <u>SubAgr</u> |
|------|---------------|
| e | '3sg.ind' |
| im | '1pl' |
| i | '3sg.impf' |
| a | '3sg.pstprf' |
| i | '3sg.sbj' |
| ən | 'inf' |
| id | '3pl.' |
| ə | '3sg.prspf' |
| ə | 'ptcp.pst' |
| o | '2sg.imp' |
| əm | '1sg' |
| o | '3sg.pst' |
| ə | '3sg.sbjv' |
| i | '2sg' |

5.2.11.2 V:SubAgr Slots and Fillers

The category V:SubAgr does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.12 V:Pst inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the V:Pst category.

5.2.12.1 V:Pst Templates

There are no inflectional templates for V:Pst.

5.2.12.2 V:Pst Slots and Fillers

The category V:Pst does not define any slots.

5.2.13 Compound verb inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Compound verb category.

5.2.13.1 Compound verb Templates

There are no inflectional templates for Compound verb.

5.2.13.2 Compound verb Slots and Fillers

The category Compound verb does not define any slots.

5.2.14 V:Sbjv inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the V:Sbjv category and its subcategories.

5.2.14.1 V:Sbjv Templates

The category V:Sbjv has the following template.

5.2.14.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for V:Sbjv has the following slot before the stem.

| | |
|-------------|-----------|
| <u>Sbjv</u> | Stem |
| | bə 'sbjv' |
| | |

5.2.14.2 V:Sbjv Slots and Fillers

The category V:Sbjv does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.15 Past participle inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Past participle category and its subcategories.

5.2.15.1 Past participle Templates

The category Past participle has the following template.

5.2.15.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Past participle has the following slots before and after the stem.

| (Pst.ptcp) | Stem | SubAgr ba 'pst.ptcp' |
|------------|---|-------------------------|
| | e '3sg.ind' im '1pl' i '3sg.impf' a '3sg.pstprf' i '3sg.sbj' ən 'inf' id '3pl.' ə '3sg.prspf' ə 'ptcp.pst' o '2sg.imp' əm '1sg' o '3sg.pst' ə '3sg.sbjv' i '2sg' | |

5.2.15.2 Past participle Slots and Fillers

The category Past participle does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.16 Past subjunctive inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Past subjunctive category and its subcategories.

5.2.16.1 Past subjunctive Templates

The category Past subjunctive has the following template.

5.2.16.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Past subjunctive has the following slots before and after the stem.

| Pst | Stem | Pst.sbj | SubAgr |
|-----|--------------|---|----------|
| | əvi 'pstsbj' | e '3sg.ind' im '1pl' i '3sg.impf' ə '3sg.pstprf' i '3sg.sbj' ən 'inf' id '3pl.' ə '3sg.prspf' ə 'ptcp.pst' o '2sg.imp' əm '1sg' o '3sg.pst' ə '3sg.sbjv' i '2sg' | bə 'pst' |

5.2.16.2 Past subjunctive Slots and Fillers

The category Past subjunctive does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.17 Present indicative inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Present indicative category and its subcategories.

5.2.17.1 Present indicative Templates

The category Present indicative has the following template.

5.2.17.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Present indicative has the following slot after the stem.

| Stem | <u>SubAgr</u> |
|----------------|---------------|
| e '3sg.ind' | |
| im '1pl' | |
| i '3sg.impf' | |
| ə '3sg.pstprf' | |
| i '3sg.sbj' | |
| ən 'inf' | |
| id '3pl.' | |
| ə '3sg.prspf' | |
| ə 'ptcp.pst' | |
| o '2sg.imp' | |
| əm '1sg' | |
| o '3sg.pst' | |
| ə '3sg.sbjv' | |
| i '2sg' | |

5.2.17.2 Present indicative Slots and Fillers

The category Present indicative does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.18 Present subjunctive inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Present subjunctive category and its subcategories.

5.2.18.1 Present subjunctive Templates

The category Present subjunctive has the following template.

5.2.18.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Present subjunctive has the following slots before and after the stem.

| <u>Sbjv</u> | Stem | <u>SubAgr</u> bə 'sbjv' |
|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | e '3sg.ind' | |
| | im '1pl' | |
| | i '3sg.impf' | |
| | ə '3sg.pstprf' | |
| | i '3sg.sbj' | |
| | ən 'inf' | |
| | id '3pl.' | |
| | ə '3sg.prspf' | |
| | ə 'ptcp.pst' | |
| | o '2sg.imp' | |
| | əm '1sg' | |
| | o '3sg.pst' | |
| | ə '3sg.sbjv' | |
| | i '2sg' | |

5.2.18.2 Present subjunctive Slots and Fillers

The category Present subjunctive does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.19 Imperfect inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the Imperfect category and its subcategories.

5.2.19.1 Imperfect Templates

The category Imperfect has the following template.

5.2.19.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for Imperfect has the following slot after the stem.

| Stem | <u>SubAgr</u> |
|----------------|---------------|
| e '3sg.ind' | |
| im '1pl' | |
| i '3sg.impf' | |
| ə '3sg.pstprf' | |
| i '3sg.sbj' | |
| ən 'inf' | |
| id '3pl.' | |
| ə '3sg.prspf' | |
| ə 'ptcp.pst' | |
| o '2sg.imp' | |
| əm '1sg' | |
| o '3sg.pst' | |
| ə '3sg.sbjv' | |
| i '2sg' | |

5.2.19.2 Imperfect Slots and Fillers

The category Imperfect does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

5.2.20 PastContinuous inflection

This section lists all inflectional templates and slots for the PastContinuous category and its subcategories.

5.2.20.1 PastContinuous Templates

The category PastContinuous has the following template.

5.2.20.1.1 (*This template has not been given a name yet.*)

This inflectional template for PastContinuous has the following slots after the stem.

| Stem | PstCnt | SubAgr |
|-------------------------|---|--------|
| əndovu 'pst.cnt' | e '3sg.ind' im '1pl' i '3sg.impf' ə '3sg.pstprf' i '3sg.sbj' ən 'inf' id '3pl.' ə '3sg.prspf' ə 'ptcp.pst' o '2sg.imp' əm '1sg' o '3sg.pst' ə '3sg.sbjv' i '2sg' | |

5.2.20.2 PastContinuous Slots and Fillers

The category PastContinuous does not define any slots. Its templates, however, may use any of these slots: [Imp](#), [Pst](#), [Pst.ptcp](#), [Pst.sbj](#), [PstCnt](#), [PstPluprf](#), [PstPrf](#), [Sbjv](#), and [SubAgr](#).

6 Derivation

The lexicon currently contains 1 derivational affix. A number in the table below indicates the number of derivational affixes that attach to a stem of the syntactic category named in the row label to the left and produce a stem of the syntactic category

named in the column label above it. Click on the number to see a list of the actual affixes. (Note that it is possible for a derivational affix to have more than one mapping so the sum of the numbers in the table may be greater than the number of derivational affixes in the lexicon.)

| | |
|------------|------------|
| | <u>adj</u> |
| <u>adj</u> | 1 |

The following are the derivational affixes in this analysis of Gilaki:

6.1 From adj to adj

tar 'cprt' The definition is missing. Please add it.

7 Clitics

In this analysis of Gilaki there are 7 clitics.

| Form | Gloss | Definition | Category | Attaches to: |
|-----------|--------|---|------------------------------------|--------------|
| re | 'for' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | Postposition | Any category |
| ə | 'ezf' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | Nominal particle | Any category |
| i | 'deic' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | Nominal particle | Any category |
| i | " | The definition is missing. Please add it. | Indefinite article | Any category |
| ə | 'quot' | The definition is missing. Please add it. | Quotative | Any category |

8 Compounding

In this analysis of Gilaki there is no compounding.

9 Morpho-syntactic Feature System

Gilaki has a morpho-syntactic feature system with the feature structure types listed in section [9.1](#) and the features given in section [9.2](#).

9.1 Morpho-syntactic Feature Structure Types

Gilaki has a feature system with the following feature structure type:

9.1.1 *Infl*

There is no description yet. It has the following features:

| Name | Description |
|--------------------------------|---|
| absolute tense | Absolute tense is a tense that refers to a time in relation to the moment of utterance. |

9.2 Morpho-syntactic Features

Gilaki has a morpho-syntactic feature system with the following features:

9.2.1 *Absolute tense*

Absolute tense is a tense that refers to a time in relation to the moment of utterance. It has the following possible values:

| Name | Abbreviation | Description |
|------------|--------------|---|
| past tense | pst | Past tense is an absolute tense that refers to a time before the moment of utterance. |

10 Allomorphy

This analysis of Gilaki has phonological conditioning of allomorphs.

10.1 Phonological Environments

The following is a complete list of the phonological environments that condition allomorphs in this analysis:

| Representation | Name | Description | Count |
|-----------------|-----------------------|--|--------------|
| /#[C] [VowO] | AfterConsonant | When the string comes after a consonant | 2 instances |
| /#[C] [VowUorO] | BeginningBeforeC+UOrO | Word beginning before a consonant and vowel U or O | 3 instances |
| /#[C] [Ye] | BeginningBeforeC+Ye | Word beginning before a consonant and vowel Ye | 2 instances |
| /[He]_ | AfterHe | After the letter He | 1 instance |
| /[Nun]_ | AfterNun | When the string comes after Nun | 1 instance |
| /[V]_ | AfterVowel | When the string comes after a vowel | 6 instances |
| /[VMinusYe]_ | AfterVowelMinusYe | Excluding Ye | 1 instance |
| /[Ye]_ | AfterYe | After the letter Ye | 1 instance |
| /_[V] | BeforeV | When the string comes before a vowel | 17 instances |

The following is a complete list of the phonological environments that are not being used:

| Representation | Name | Description | Count |
|----------------|------------------------------|---|-------------|
| /#[C]_ | After stem-initial consonant | Default infix position environment | 0 instances |
| /[VMinusVav]_ | AfterVowelsMinusVav | Vowels excluding Vav | 0 instances |
| /_[C] | BeforeC | When the string comes before a consonant | 0 instances |
| /#[VowO] | BeginningBeforeC+O | Word beginning before a consonant and vowel O | 0 instances |

10.2 Inflection Classes

This analysis of Gilaki also has allomorphy that is lexically conditioned by inflection class.

The category [Past indicative](#) has the inflection classes shown in the following table. There is no default inflection class for this category.

| Name | Description | Stem count | Affix count |
|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| [absten.pst] | *** | 0 stems | 0 affixes |

The category [V:SubAgr](#) has the inflection classes shown in the following table. There is no default inflection class for this category.

| Name | Description | Stem count | Affix count |
|------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| *** | *** | 0 stems | 0 affixes |

The category [Present indicative](#) has the inflection classes shown in the following table. There is no default inflection class for this category.

| Name | Description | Stem count | Affix count |
|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| [absten.prs] | *** | 0 stems | 0 affixes |

The category [Adjective](#) has the inflection classes shown in the following table. There is no default inflection class for this category.

| Name | Description | Stem count | Affix count |
|------|-------------|------------|-------------|
| *** | *** | 0 stems | 0 affixes |

11 Natural Classes

The following natural classes have been defined in this analysis of Gilaki.

| Class | Phonemes | Class Name | Class Description |
|------------|---|---------------|-------------------|
| C | b, č, d, f, g, h, ġ, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, š, t, v, x, y, z, ɿ, γ | Consonants | Consonants |
| He | e | He | Vowel e |
| Nun | | Nun | Consonant Nun |
| V | a, e, ə, i, o, u | Vowel | Vowels |
| VMinus-Vav | a, e, ə, i, o | VowelMinusVav | Excludes Vav |
| VMi-nusYe | a, e, ə, o, u | VowelMinusYe | Excludes Ye |
| VowəorA | a, ə | VowəorA | Vowel ə or A |
| VowO | o | VowO | Vowel O |
| VowUorO | o, u | VowUorO | Vowel U or O |
| Ye | i | Ye | Vowel i |

12 Residue

12.1 Underspecified Inflectional Affixes

This analysis of Gilaki has the following underspecified inflectional affixes. Underspecified inflectional affixes are those affixes which have been classified as being inflectional yet do not have a specified category or, if a category is specified, do not have a specified slot for that category. If the category is not specified, then the affix can attach to any stem. If the category is specified, but the slot is not specified, then the affix can attach to any stem of that category.

| Form | Gloss | Category | Slot |
|-----------|-----------|------------------|--------------|
| a | 'attr' | <u>Adjective</u> | Unknown slot |
| nə | 'not' | <u>Verb</u> | Unknown slot |
| | 'not' | <u>Adjective</u> | Unknown slot |
| a | 'sbjcomp' | <u>Adjective</u> | Unknown slot |
| a | 'objcomp' | <u>Noun</u> | Unknown slot |

12.2 Unmarked Stems

This analysis of Gilaki has the following stems which have not yet been marked for category.

- nə** 'not'
bə 'pst.ptcp'

12.3 Unused Inflection Classes

This analysis of Gilaki has the following inflection classes which have been defined but are never assigned to any stem.

[absten.prs]
[absten.pst]

This analysis of Gilaki has the following inflection classes which have been defined but are never assigned to any affix.

[absten.prs]

[absten.pst]

See section [10.2](#) for more information on these inflection classes.

A Gilaki morphemes by type

This appendix lists morphemes by morphological type. Only the first ten morphemes will be listed for each morphological type.

- [Enclitic](#) (7).
- [Infix](#) (4).
- [Phrase](#) (11).
- [Prefix](#) (7).
- [Root](#) (1).
- [Stem](#) (296).
- [Suffix](#) (48).

A.1 Enclitic

This subsection lists all the instances.

rə 'for'
e "
ə 'ezf'
i 'deic'
i "
i "
ə 'quot'

A.2 Infix

This subsection lists all the instances.

| | |
|---------------|-----------|
| a | 'pstprf' |
| andov | " |
| əndovu | 'pst.cnt' |
| andav | " |

A.3 Phrase

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

| | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| bad az | 'after' |
| šakam zast | 'give birth to. pst' |
| aha fad | 'accept.pst' |
| kar kud | 'work.pst' |
| yad ay | 'come to memory.prs' |
| hay digad | 'reproach.pst' |
| harif bu | 'beat.pst' |
| hato ki | 'as soon as' |
| ta in ke | 'till' |
| šakam usad | 'get pregnant.pst' |

A.4 Prefix

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

| | |
|-----------|------------|
| nu | " |
| nə | 'not' |
| be | " |
| va | " |
| bə | 'pst.ptcp' |
| ba | " |
| na | " |

A.5 Root

This subsection lists all the instances.

mađbor bustən 'be.forced.pst'

A.6 Stem

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

| | |
|-------------------|------------------|
| fanderest | " |
| Sale | 'Saleh' |
| vost | " |
| amu | 'paternal uncle' |
| amarz | 'forgive.prss' |
| palaxorušt | 'rice and stew' |
| pesər | 'son' |
| əm | " |
| ašanə | " |
| vasi | 'have to' |

A.7 Suffix

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

| | |
|------------|-------------|
| əvo | 'pstpluprf' |
| av | " |
| o | " |
| i | '3sg.impf' |
| im | '1pl' |
| i | '3sg.sbj' |
| imi | " |
| ə | 'attr' |
| ə | '3sg.prspf' |
| a | " |

B Gilaki morphemes by category

This appendix lists morphemes by category. Only the first ten morphemes will be listed for each category.

- [Adjective](#) (25).
- Adposition
- [Adverb](#) (27).
- [Adverbializer](#) (5).
- [Cardinal numeral](#) (5).
- Classifier
- Compound verb
- Connective
- [Coordinating connective](#) (2).
- [Demonstrative](#) (4).
- [Exclamatory pronoun](#) (1).
- Imperative
- Imperfect
- [Indefinite article](#) (1).
- [Indefinite pronoun](#) (1).
- Infinitive
- [Interjection](#) (2).
- [Modal verb](#) (1).
- [Nominal particle](#) (2).
- [Noun](#) (93).
- [Noun classifier](#) (1).
- Numeral
- Ordinal numeral
- Participle
- [Past indicative](#) (46).
- Past participle

- Past subjunctive
- Past Continuous
- Perfect
- [Personal pronoun](#) (5).
- Personal pronoun accusative-dative
- Personal pronoun genitive
- [Personal pronoun nominative](#) (1).
- [Phrasal verb](#) (1).
- Pluperfect
- Possessive pronoun
- [Postposition](#) (8).
- [Preposition](#) (6).
- [Present indicative](#) (14).
- Present subjunctive
- Pro-adverb
- Pro-form
- Pronoun
- [Proper Noun](#) (6).
- [Quantifier](#) (1).
- [Quotative](#) (1).
- [Reflexive pronoun](#) (2).
- Subordinating connective
- Transitive verb
- V:Pst
- V:Sbjv
- V:SubAgr
- Verb
- Verbal particle

B.1 Adjective

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------|
| mađbor | 'forced' |
| ə | 'attr' |
| zanxazi | 'proposing marriage' |
| jaxtara | 'forgotten' |
| pillə | 'old' |
| vaz | 'open' |
| bextar | 'better' |
| kođə | 'small' |
| mađbur | 'forced' |
| nə | 'not' |

B.2 Adposition

B.3 Adverb

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

- | | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| dovarə | 'again' |
| čarə | 'why' |
| palaxuri | 'eating out' |
| axar | 'finally' |
| bəron | 'out' |
| dayam | 'always' |
| xaili | 'much' |
| bijir | 'down' |
| dam | 'near' |
| birun | 'out' |

B.4 Adverbializer

This subsection lists all the instances.

| | |
|-----------------|--------------|
| ingar | 'as if' |
| ki | 'when' |
| agi | 'if' |
| hato ki | 'as soon as' |
| ta in ke | 'till' |

B.5 Cardinal numeral

This subsection lists all the instances.

| | |
|------------|---------|
| dah | 'ten' |
| do | 'two' |
| i | 'one' |
| se | 'three' |
| šis | 'six' |

B.6 Classifier

B.7 Compound verb

B.8 Connective

B.9 Coordinating connective

This subsection lists all the instances.

| | |
|-----------|--------|
| am | 'also' |
| o | 'and' |

B.10 Demonstrative

This subsection lists all the instances.

| | |
|-------------|--------------------|
| hana | 'just this.accdat' |
| an | 'this' |
| u | 'that' |

un 'that'

B.11 Exclamatory pronoun

This subsection lists all the instances.

či 'what'

B.12 Imperative

This subsection lists all the instances.

o '2sg.imp'

bə 'imp'

B.13 Imperfect

This subsection lists all the instances.

i '3sg.impf'

B.14 Indefinite article

This subsection lists all the instances.

i "

B.15 Indefinite pronoun

This subsection lists all the instances.

hičči 'nothing'

B.16 Infinitive

This subsection lists all the instances.

ən 'inf'

B.17 Interjection

This subsection lists all the instances.

aha 'yes'

hay 'pooh'

B.18 Modal verb

This subsection lists all the instances.

vasi 'have to'

B.19 Nominal particle

This subsection lists all the instances.

ə 'ezf'

i 'deic'

B.20 Noun

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

amu 'paternal uncle'

palaxorušt 'rice and stew'

pesər 'son'

kar 'work'

laku 'laku'

otobus 'bus'

gaz 'tooth'

xorušt 'stew'

xuk 'pig'

dahat 'village'

B.21 Noun classifier

This subsection lists all the instances.

ta 'clf'

B.22 Numeral

B.23 Ordinal numeral

B.24 Participle

B.25 Past indicative

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

| | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| əvo | 'pstpluprf' |
| digad | 'throw.pst' |
| ə | 'pstprf' |
| usad | 'take.pst' |
| gerdast | 'stroll.pst' |
| dakaft | 'hurry.pst' |
| kud | 'do.pst' |
| ə | '3sg.prspf' |
| šakam zast | 'give birth to. pst' |
| kaš | 'pull.pst' |

B.26 Past participle

This subsection lists all the instances.

| | |
|-----------|------------|
| bə | 'pst.ptcp' |
| ə | 'ptcp.pst' |

B.27 Past subjunctive

This subsection lists all the instances.

| | |
|------------|-----------|
| i | '3sg.sbj' |
| əvi | 'pstsbj' |

B.28 Past Continuous

B.29 Perfect

B.30 Personal pronoun

This subsection lists all the instances.

ušon 'they'

mən 'I'

ašan 'they'

an 'he'

amən 'we'

B.31 Personal pronoun accusative-dative

B.32 Personal pronoun genitive

B.33 Personal pronoun nominative

This subsection lists all the instances.

to 'you'

B.34 Phrasal verb

This subsection lists all the instances.

mažbor bustən 'be.forced.pst'

B.35 Pluperfect

B.36 Possessive pronoun

B.37 Postposition

This subsection lists all the instances.

| | |
|---------------|--------|
| re | 'for' |
| sar | 'to' |
| mimijə | 'with' |
| duron | 'into' |
| žə | 'from' |
| marə | 'with' |
| ro | 'on' |
| mijə | 'with' |

B.38 Preposition

This subsection lists all the instances.

| | |
|---------------|---------|
| bad az | 'after' |
| bə | 'to' |
| ba | 'with' |
| ta | 'until' |
| žə | 'than' |
| az | 'from' |

B.39 Present indicative

This subsection lists the first ten instances.

| | |
|--------------|---------------|
| amarz | 'forgive.prs' |
| xay | 'want.prs' |
| dax | 'give.prs' |
| kun | 'do.prs' |

| | |
|---------------|----------------------|
| fokun | 'throw.prs' |
| man | 'remain.prs' |
| dar | 'have.prs' |
| šo | 'go.prs' |
| e | '3sg.ind' |
| yad ay | 'come to memory.prs' |

B.40 Present subjunctive

B.41 Pro-adverb

B.42 Pro-form

B.43 Pronoun

B.44 Proper Noun

This subsection lists all the instances.

| | |
|--------------|----------|
| Sale | 'Saleh' |
| Amad | 'Ahmad' |
| Hadi | 'Hadi' |
| Ali | 'Ali' |
| Mašad | 'Mashad' |
| Rašt | 'Rašt' |

B.45 Quantifier

This subsection lists all the instances.

| | |
|------------|---------|
| čan | 'a few' |
|------------|---------|

B.46 Quotative

This subsection lists all the instances.

ə 'quot'

B.47 Reflexive pronoun

This subsection lists all the instances.

xu 'oneself.sg'

xuri 'oneself.sg.accdat'

B.48 Subordinating connective

B.49 Transitive verb

B.50 V:Pst

B.51 V:Sbjv

This subsection lists all the instances.

ə '3sg.sbjv'

B.52 V:SubAgr

B.53 Verb

This subsection lists all the instances.

im '1pl'

nə 'not'

əm '1sg'

id '3pl.'

bə 'sbjv'

i '2sg'

Glossary

Alphabetical order: a b č d e ə f g h i l m n o p r s/š t u v x y z γ.

0

-**0₁** *Pst.ind:SubAgr sfx 3sg.pst*

-**0₂** fr. var. of **əvo**

-**0₃** *Imp:SubAgr sfx 2sg.imp*

A a

a fr. var. of **ə₂**

amarə irreg. infl. of **amən, amən**

-**a₁** (fr. var. **-yə**) *n:Case sfx acc-dat*

amari irreg. infl. of **amən, amən**

-**a₂** [Š] fr. var. of **-ə₇**

amarz *Prs.ind* forgive.prss

-**a₃** (fr. var. **-ə₁** [Š]; **-ə**) *adj sfx sbjcomp*

ameri irreg. infl. of **amən, amən**

-**a₄** (fr. var. **-ə₄; -ə₅**) *n sfx objcomp*

amən (irreg. infl. **amarə; amari; ameri;**

adam *n 1)* person *2)* guest

aməri; ami, Gen **ami**, AccDat **amarə;**

agi *advlizer* if

amari; ameri; aməri) *pers we*

aha *interj* yes

aməri irreg. infl. of **amən, amən**

aha fad ph. v. *Pst.ind* accept.pst

ami irreg. infl. of **amən, amən**

aha fad (ph. v. of **aha, fad**, see under **aha**)

amjan *n* paternal aunt

aib *n* fault

amjanmard *n* husband of paternal aunt

aid *n* New Year

amu *n* paternal uncle

aidi *n* New Year's gift

an₁ (irreg. infl. **ani**, Gen **ani**) *dem* this

alan *n* now

an₂ (Gen **anə**, AccDat **ana**) *pers he*

Ali *nprop* Ali

-an *n:Pl sfx pl*

am₁ (enc. **əm**) *coordconn* also

ana an₂

am₂ (fr. var. **om**) *Pst.ind* come.pst

-andav- fr. var. of **-əndovu-**

-am fr. var. of **-əm**

-andov- fr. var. of **-əndovu-**

Amad *nprop* Ahmad

anə an₂

ani irreg. infl. of **an₁, an₁**

arəore (fr. var. **arəura**) *adv* here and there
arəura fr. var. of **arəore**
arz *Prs.ind* to be worth
ašan (Gen **ašanə**, AccDat **ašani**) *pers* they
ašanə ašan
ašani ašan
aškaft fr. var. of **eškaft**
asp *n* horse
av *n* water

-av fr. var. of **-əvi**
aval *adv* first
avard *Pst.ind* bring.pst
-avə fr. var. of **-əvo**
axar *adv* finally
ay *Prs.ind* come.prs ph. v. **yad ay** (see under **yad**)
ayam *n* time
az *prep* from ph.prep **bad az** (see under **bad**)
aγa *n* mister

B b

ba *prep* with
ba- fr. var. of **bə-**
bad *adv* later
 bad az ph.prep *prep* after
bad az (**bad**, **az**, see under **bad**)
bar *Prs.ind* bring.prs
baranj, bəj *n* rice
be fr. var. of **bə**
be- fr. var. of **bə-**
bextar *adj* better
bəron *adv* out
bə (fr. var. **be**) *prep* 1) to 2) in

bə- (fr. var. **ba-**; **be-**; **va-**) 1) *v:Pst pfx pst*
 2) *Imp:Imp pfx imp* 3) *Pst.ptcp:Pst.ptcp pfx*
 pst.ptcp 4) *v:Sbjv pfx sbjv*
bijar *n* rice field
bijir *adv* down
bikar *adj* jobless
birun (fr. var. **virun**) *adv* out
bord *Pst.ind* take.pst
bost fr. var. of **bust**
bozorg *adj* big
bu *Pst.ind* be.pst ph. v. **harif bu** (see under **harif**)
bujur *adv* up
bust (fr. var. **bost**; **vost**) *Pst.ind* become.pst
 ph. v. **mažbor bustən**

Č č

čačpare *n* basin near the well
čan *quant* a few
čarə *adv* why
čegad *Pst.ind* prepare.pst

či *excl* what
čillə *n* part of winter
čum *n* eye

D d

-d irreg. infl. of **-id**
dah *cardnum* ten
dahat *n* village
dakaft *Pst.ind* hurry.pst
dam *adv* near
danest *Pst.ind* consider.pst
dar *Prs.ind* have.prs
das *n* hand
daškani *Pst.ind* burst.pst
dast *n* hand
dašt *Pst.ind* have.pst
dax *Prs.ind* give.prs
dayam *adv* always
dayi *n* maternal uncle

dayza *n* cousin
di₁ *adv* 1) more 2) quite
di₂ *Pst.ind* give.pst
di₃ *Pst.ind* see.pst
digad *Pst.ind* throw.pst ph. v. **hay** **digad** (see under **hay**)
dil *n* heart
dimpar *n* cheek
do *cardnum* two
dogud *Pst.ind* wear.pst
donya *n* world
dovarə (fr. var. **dovaro**) *adv* again
dovaro fr. var. of **dovarə**
duron *postp* into

E e

-e (dial. var. **-ə₁** [Š], fr. var. **-ə₁** [Š]; **-u**)
Prs.ind:SubAgr sfx 3sg.ind
=e fr. var. of **=ə₁**

es fr. var. of **is**
eškaft (fr. var. **aškaft**) *Pst.ind* break.pst
-evu fr. var. of **-əvo**

Θ Θ

-**θ** fr. var. of -**a**₃

θ₁ fr. var. of **o**₁

θ₂ (fr. var. **a**; **o**₂; **u**₂) *Prs.ind* be.3sg.prs

-**θ-** *Pst.ind:PstPrf ifx* *pstprf*

-**θ**₁ [Š] (dial. var. -**o**₁) dial. var. of -**e**, fr. var. of

-**a**₃, -**e**

-**θ**₂ (fr. var. -**o**₁) *Pst.ptcp:SubAgr sfx* *ptcp.pst*

-**θ**₃ (fr. var. -**o**₄; -**u**) *Pst.ind:SubAgr sfx*

3sg.pstprf

-**θ**₄ fr. var. of -**a**₄

-**θ**₅ fr. var. of -**a**₄

-**θ**₆ *adj sfx* attr

-**θ**₇ (fr. var. -**a**₂ [Š]) *n:Case sfx* gen

-**θ**₈ (fr. var. -**o**₁) *Pst.ind:SubAgr sfx* 3sg.prsprf

=**θ**₁ (fr. var. = **e**) *nomprt ezf*

=**θ**₂ *quot* *quot*

-**θd** fr. var. of -**id**

θm enc. of **am**₁

-**θm** (fr. var. -**am**; -**om**; -**um**) *v:SubAgr sfx*
1sg

-**θn** (fr. var. -**on**) *Inf:SubAgr sfx* inf

-**θndovu-** (fr. var. -**andav-**; -**andov-**)

Pst.ind:PstCnt ifx *pst.cnt*

-**θvi** (fr. var. -**av**) *Pst.sbj:Pst.sbj sfx* *pstsbj*

-**θvo** (fr. var. -**o**₂; -**avə**; -**evu**; -**ov**; -**ovo**; -
uvə) *Pst.ind:PstPluprf sfx* *pstpluprf*

F f

fad *Pst.ind* give.pst ph. v. **aha fad** (see under
aha)

fagift *Pst.ind* get.pst

fanderest fr. var. of **fandərəst**

fandərəst (fr. var. **fanderest**) *Pst.ind* look at

fares *Pst.ind* arrive.pst

fikr n thought

fokun *Prs.ind* throw.prs

G g

galuš n galuš

gaz n tooth

gerdast *Pst.ind* stroll.pst

gift *Pst.ind* take.pst

gil n mud

go guft

god fr. var. of **kud**
goft fr. var. of **guft**
gomarkallo *n* briar patch

gud fr. var. of **kud**
guft (fr. var. **goft**, Prs **go**) *Pst.ind* say.pst
gul *n* flower

H h

Hadi *nprop* Hadi
halva *n* halva
hame *adj* all
hana *dem* just this.accdat
hanuz *adv* still
harif *n* rival
 harif bu ph. v. *Pst.ind* beat.pst
harif bu (ph. v. of **harif**, **bu**, see under
 harif)
hasə *adv* now
hato *adv* so

hato ki unspec. comp. form *advlizer* as
soon as
hato ki (unspec. comp. form of **hato**, **ki**, see
under **hato**)
hava *n* weather
hay *interj* pooh
 hay digad ph. v. *Pst.ind* reproach.pst
hay digad (ph. v. of **hay**, **digad**, see under
 hay)
hə *Pst.ind* buy.pst
hičči (fr. var. **hiči**) *indfpro* nothing
hiči fr. var. of **hičči**
hičvaxt *adv* never

I i

i *cardnum* one
-i₁ *Impf:SubAgr sfx* 3sg.impf
-i₂ *Pst.sbj:SubAgr sfx* 3sg.sbj
-i₃ *v:SubAgr sfx* 2sg
= **i₁** unspec. var. of = **rə**
= **i₂** *nomprt* deic
= **i₃** *indf*
ibče (fr. var. **ivčə**; **ivčə**) 1) *adv* little 2) *adj*
 little

-id (fr. var. **-əd**; **-ud**, irreg. infl. **-d**; **-ud**)
 v:SubAgr sfx 3pl.
-im (dial. var. **-imi**) *v:SubAgr sfx* 1pl
-imi dial. var. of **-im**
ingar *advlizer* as if
is (fr. var. **es**) *Pst.ind* stay.pst
ištavə *adj* hearing
ivčə fr. var. of **ibče**
ivčə fr. var. of **ibče**

Ј ј

ја *n* spot

јам *n* addition

јан *n* body

јaxtara *adj* forgotten

јаγelan *n* guy

је fr. var. of **јə**

јə (fr. var. **је**; **ји**) 1) *prep* than 2) *postp* from
3) *prep* since

ји fr. var. of **јə**

K k

kaifi *n* pleasure

kalasa kod fr. var. of **kalasa kud**

kalasa kud (fr. var. **kalasa kod**) *Pst.ind*
open one's eyes wide.pst

kalfati *n* housekeeping provided by a female
servant

kar *n* 1) work 2) activity

kar kud ph. v. *Pst.ind* work.pst

kar kud (ph. v. of **kar**, **kud**, see under **kar**)

karə *adv* cont.part

kaš *Pst.ind* pull.pst

ke fr. var. of **ki** ph.conn **ta in ke**

ki (fr. var. **ke**) *advlizer* 1) when 2) that unspec.

comp. form **hato ki** (see under **hato**)

kiška *n* chick

kod fr. var. of **kud**

koјə *adj* small

kolli *adv* a lot

kosxul *n* crackpot

kud (fr. var. **god**; **gud**; **kod**) *Pst.ind* do.pst

ph. v. **kar kud** (see under **kar**)

kun *Prs.ind* do.prs

küna *adv* back

L l

laku *n* laku

laxo *n* opening

libas *n* clothes

M m

| | |
|---|--|
| ma <i>n</i> month | Mašad <i>nprop</i> Mashad |
| maalegardi <i>adv</i> sightseeing | maštə fr. var. of mašti |
| majbor <i>ph. v.</i> majbor <i>bustən</i> | maštə fr. var. of mašti |
| majbur <i>adj</i> forced | mašti (fr. var. maštə ; maštə) <i>adj</i> mashti |
| malomanal <i>n</i> money and property | mayreb <i>n</i> sunset |
| man <i>Prs.ind</i> remain.prs | mən (Gen mi , AccDat marə₂) <i>pers I</i> |
| manest <i>Pst.ind</i> resemble,pst | mi mən |
| mar <i>n</i> mother | mijə <i>postp</i> with |
| mardom <i>n</i> 1) acquaintances 2) people | mimijsə <i>postp</i> with |
| marə₁ <i>postp</i> with | moattali <i>n</i> wait |
| marə₂ mən | mord |
| | moγe <i>n</i> time |

N n

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| na- fr. var. of nə- | nə- (fr. var. na- ; nu-) 1) <i>v pfx</i> not 2) <i>adj pfx</i> not |
| nafar <i>n</i> person | nimče <i>adj</i> 1) small 2) little |
| nafas <i>n</i> breath | nu- fr. var. of nə- |

O o

| | |
|---|---|
| o₁ (fr. var. ə₁) <i>coordconn</i> and | -o₂ |
| o₂ fr. var. of ə₂ | -o₃ |
| -o₁ dial. var. of -ə₁ [Š] (dial. var. of,fr. var. of - | -o₄ fr. var. of -ə₃ |
| e , fr. var. of -a₃), fr. var. of -ə₈, -ə₂ | om fr. var. of am₂ |

-om fr. var. of **-əm**

-on fr. var. of **-ən**

otobus *n* bus

-ov fr. var. of **-əvo**

-ovo fr. var. of **-əvo**

oyə *adv* there

P p

pala *n* rice

palaxorušt comp. *n* rice and stew

palaxorušt (comp. of **pala**, **xorušt**, see under **pala**)

palaxuri *adv* eating out

per [Ş] dial. var. of **pər**

pesər (fr. var. **pezar**) *n* son

pezar fr. var. of **pesər**

pər (dial. var. **per** [Ş]) *n* father

pillə *adj* old

piš *adv* 1) before 2) ago

pol *n* money

R r

radiyo *n* radio

Rašt *nprop* Rašt

rəi *n* guy

=**rə** (unspec. var. =**i₁**) *postp* for

ro *postp* on

röz *n* day

ruxan *n* river

ruz *n* day

S/Ş s/ş

šab *n* 1) eve 2) night

sabeγ *adj* past

šahr *n* city

šakam *n* belly

šakam usad ph. v. *Pst.ind* get pregnant.pst

šakam zast ph. v. *Pst.ind* give birth to. pst

šakam usad (ph. v. of **šakam**, **usad**, see under **šakam**)

šakam zast (ph. v. of **šakam**, **zastən**, see under **šakam**)

sal *n* year

Sale *nprop* Saleh

sar *postp to*
saxt *adj difficult*
saγ *adj healthy*
se *cardnum three*

šiš *cardnum six*
šo 1) *Pst.ind go.pst* 2) *Prs.ind go.prs*
sob *n morning*

T t

ta₁ (dial. var. **tə** [Š]) *nclf clf*
ta₂ *prep until*
 ta in ke *ph.conn advlizer till*
ta in ke (**ta₂**, **ke** (fr. var. of **ki**), see under
 ta₂)
-tar *adj > adj sfx cpnt*
tarə to

tazu 1) *adv just* 2) *adj new*
teri to
tə [Š] dial. var. of **ta₁**
ti to
to (Gen **ti**, AccDat **tarə**; **teri**) *persnom you*
tomam *adj finished*

U u

u₁ *dem that*
u₂ fr. var. of **ə₂**
-u fr. var. of **-e**, **-ə₃**
-ud fr. var. of **-id**, irreg. infl. of **-id**
-um fr. var. of **-əm**
un (Gen **uni**) *dem that*
uni un

usad *Pst.ind take.pst ph. v.* **šakam usad** (see
under **šakam**)
ušon (AccDat **ušonə**) *pers they*
ušonə ušon
usujan *Pst.ind burn.pst*
utaγ *n room*
-uvə fr. var. of **-əvo**

V v

va- fr. var. of **bə-**

vadoxt *Pst.ind sew.pst*

vagardast fr. var. of **vagardest**
vagardesd fr. var. of **vagardest**
vagardest (fr. var. **vagardast**; **vagardesd**;
 vagerdest) *Pst.ind* 1) return.pst 2) turn.pst
vagerdest fr. var. of **vagardest**
vanversi *Pst.ind* ask.neg.pst
var *n* time
varf *n* snow

vasat (fr. var. **vazat**) *adj* mid
vasi *Mod* have to
vaversi *Pst.ind* ask.pst
vaz *adj* open
vazat fr. var. of **vasat**
vinrišt *Pst.ind* wake up.neg.pst
virun fr. var. of **birun**
vost fr. var. of **bust**

X x

xaili *adv* 1) much 2) very
xala *n* maternal aunt
xandu *n* laugh
xanə (fr. var. **xano**) *n* home
xano fr. var. of **xanə**
xarab *adj* broken
xardoxašal *n* something nice
xaxur *n* sister
xay *Prs.ind* want.prs
xoft *Pst.ind* fall asleep.pst

xorušt *n* stew comp. **palaxorušt** (see under
 pala)
xorusxan *n* cock crow
xoš (fr. var. **xuš**) *adj* 1) pleasant 2) pleased
xu *refl* oneself.sg
xuda *n* God
xuk *n* pig
xuri *refl* oneself.sg.accdat
xuš fr. var. of **xoš**
xušgel *adj* handsome

Y y

yad *n* memory
yad ay ph. v. *Prs.ind* come to memory.prs

yad ay (ph. v. of **yad**, **ay**, see under **yad**)
-yə fr. var. of **-a₁**

Z z

zai *n* 1) child 2) baby
zamat *n* time
zan *n* woman
zanai *n* woman
zanxazi *adj* proposing marriage

zar *n* penny
zastən *Pst.ind* give birth to.pst ph. v. **šakam**
zast (see under **šakam**)
zindigi *n* life
zor *n* midday

Γ γ

γabəstən *Pst.ind* pickpocket.pst
γam *n* sadness

γašang *adj* pretty
γatil *n* mule

Bibliography

- Abaev, V.I. 1958. *Istoriko-étimologičeskii slovar' osetinskogo yazyka*. Vol. 1: *A-K'*. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR.
- 'Abdoli, 'A. 1362 (1984). *Farhang-e Tāti va Tāleši*. Bandar-e Anzali: Entešārāt-e Dehxodā.
- . 1380 (2001). *Farhang-e taṭbiqi-ye Tāleši, Tāti, Āzari*. Tehrān: Šerkat-i Sahāmi-ye Entešār.
- Afšār, I. 1331 (1952). "Āhanghā-ye mahalli-ye Gilān". *Nāme-ye Farhangestān* 22, 44-61.
- Amāni, E. 1391 (2012). "Tuwṣif-e guyeš-e Gilaki-ye Rudsar". MA dissertation. Rašt: Dānešgāh-e Gilān.
- Anvari, H. 1380 (2001). *Farhang-e bozorg-e Soxan*. Tehrān: Entešārāt-e Soxan. 8 vols.
- Asatrian, G. 2002. "The lord of cattle in Gilān". *Iran and the Caucasus* 6 (1-2): 75-85.
- Asatrian, G., Borjian, H. 2005. "Talish and the Talishis (the state of research)". *Iran and the Caucasus* 9 (1): 43-72.
- Asatrian, G. 1996. "Dim(i)li". In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, edited by E. Yarshater. 6: 405-11. Costa Mesa: Mazda.
- Bailey, H.W. 1967. *Indo-Scythian studies: Being Khotanese texts*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Bartholomae, C. 1904. *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Strassburg: Trübner.
- Basharin, P. 2019. "Proto-Indo-Iranian and Proto-Iranian Language contacts with Proto-North Caucasian". In *Proceedings of the 8th European conference of Iranian studies*, edited by P. Lurje: 30-45. Saint Petersburg: State Hermitage Publishers.
- Bazin, M. 2001. "Fūman". In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, edited by E. Yarshater, 10: 227-28. Costa Mesa: Mazda.

- Borjian, H. 2004. “Māzandarān: Language and the people (the state of research)”. *Iran and the Caucasus* 8 (2): 289-328.
- . 2008a. “The extinct language of Gorgān: its sources and origins”. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 128 (4): 681-707.
- . 2008b. “The last Gālesh herdsman: Ethno-linguistic materials from South Caspian rainforest”. *Iranian Studies* 41: 365-401.
- . 2013. “Is there continuity between Persian and Caspian? Linguistic relationships in the south-central Alborz”, edited by S. Jamison, G. Beckmann, P. Bearman and A. Shields, *American Oriental studies* 135 (3): 1-52.
- Bromberger, C. 2010. “Gilān xiv. Ethnic groups”. In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, online edition, available at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/gilan-xiv-ethnic-groups> (accessed on 16 August 2019).
- Cantera, A. 2017. “The phonology of Iranian”. In *Comparative Indo-European linguistics: An international handbook of language comparison and the reconstruction of Indo-European*, 1, edited by M. Fritz, B. Joseph and J.S. Klein, 481-503. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- Cathcart, C.A. 2015. “Iranian dialectology and dialectometry”. PhD dissertation. Berkeley: University of California.
- Cheung, J. 2002. *Studies in the historical development of the Ossetic vocalism*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Cheung, J. 2007. *Etymological dictionary of the Iranian verb*. Leiden: Brill.
- Christensen, A. 1930. *Contributions à la dialectologie iranienne: Dialecte guilākī de Recht, dialectes de Färizānd, de Yaran et de Natanz*. København: Høst.
- Crowley, T. 2007. *Field linguistics: a beginner's guide*, edited by N. Thieberger. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dehxodā, 'A.A. 1325–1358 (1947–1980). 'A.A. *Logatnāme*. Tehrān: Čāpxāne-ye Majles. 40 vols.
- Dorn, B.A. 1862. “Bericht über eine wissenschaftliche Reise in dem Kaukasus und den südlichen Küstenländern des Kaspischen Meeres”. *Bulletin de l'Academie Imp. de Sciences de St-Pétersbourg* 4: 344-77.

- Durkin-Meisterernst, D. 2004. *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Encyclopaedia Iranica, Rezazadeh Langaroudi, R. 2001. “Gīlān vi. History in the 18th century”. In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, edited by E. Yarshater, 10: 642-45. Costa Mesa: Mazda.
- Fanaei, M., Hajiani, F., Mahmoudi, M. 2016. “An etymological study of some words in the Baboli dialect”. *The journal of Indo-European studies* 24 (4): 391-420.
- Geiger, W. 1898-1901. “Kleinere Dialekte und Dialektgruppen: II. Die Kaspischen Dialekte”. In *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, edited by W. Geiger, E. Kuhn, 1 (2): 344-80. Strassburg: Trübner.
- Gharib, B. 1995. *Sogdian dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English*. Tehran: Farhang Publications.
- Gray, L.H. 1902. *Indo-Iranian phonology, with special reference to the Middle and New Iranian languages*, edited by W. Jackson. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hasandust, M. 1380 (2001). “Ešteqāq-e čand vāže-ye Gilaki”. *Nāme-ye Farhangestān* 17 (1): 22-34.
- . 1393 (2014). *Farhang-e rišešenāxti-e zabān-e Fārsi*. Tehrān: Farhangestān-e Zabān va Adab-e Fārsi. 5 vols.
- Hassanzadeh-Nodehi, R. 2016. “Analisi di testi gilaki da Shaft (Iran nord-occidentale) con profilo grammaticale e glossario”. BA thesis. Roma: Sapienza Università di Roma.
- . 2018. “Language contact between Western Gilaki and New Persian”. Poster presentation at the *8th International Conference on Iranian Linguistic*, Yerevan, 11 October 2018.
- Hassanzadeh-Nodehi, R., Anderson, C. and Heggarty, P. Forthcoming. “Typological shift caught in the act: How head directionality is inverting from one generation to the next in Gilaki”.
- Hassanzadeh-Nodehi, R., Maggi, M. Forthcoming. “Origin and diffusion of *manāt* in Persian and other Iranian languages”. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

- Henning, W.B. 1954. “The ancient language of Azerbaijan”. *Transactions of the Philological Society* 53, 157-77.
- Horn, P. 1893. *Grundriss der neopersischen Etymologie*. Strassburg: Trübner.
- Hübschmann, H. 1895. *Persische Studien*. Strassburg.
- Huyse, Ph. 2017. “The dialectology of Iranian”. In *Comparative Indo-European linguistics: An international handbook of language comparison and the reconstruction of Indo-European*, 1, edited by M. Fritz, B. Joseph and J.S. Klein, 599-608. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- Jahāngiri, N. 2003. *Guyeš-e Gilaki-e Lāhījān*. Tokyo: Entešārāt-e Markaz-e Barasihā-ye Farhang-e Eslāmi wa Motāle‘āt-e Irāni.
- Kalbāsi, I. 1382 (2003). “Nešānehā-ye estemrār dar lahjehā va guyešhā-ye Irāni”. *Guyešenāsi* 1: 76-97.
- Kellens, J. 1995. *Liste du verbe avestique*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Khoshsirat, Z. 2018. “The origin of the Gilaki causative suffix -be(:)-”. MA dissertation. Lexington: University of Kentucky.
- Kiā, M.S. 1329 (1951). *Vāženāme-ye Gorgāni*. Tehrān: Dānešgāh-e Tehrān.
- . 1326 (1948). *Vāženāme-ye Tabari*. Tehrān: Dānešgāh-e Tehrān.
- Kobayashi, M. 2004. *Historical phonology of Old Indo-Aryan consonants*. Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Korn, A. 1994. “Fußnoten zu einem parthischen Lautgesetz”. In *Iranistische und indogermanistische Beiträge in Memoriam Jochem Schindler*, edited by V. Sadovski and D. Stifter, 77-93. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- . 2005. *Toward a historical grammar of Balochi: Studies in historical phonology and vocabulary*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- . 2009. “Lengthening of *i* and *u* in Persian.” In *Exegisti monumenta: Festschrift in honour of Nicholas Sims-Williams*, edited by W. Sundermann, A. Hintze and F. de Blois. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2013. “Footnotes on a Parthian sound change”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 76 (1): 99-110.

- Lazard, G. 1978. “Le dialecte tâleši de Mâsule (Gilân)”. *Studia Iranica* 7 (2): 251-67.
- _____. 1979a. “Glossaire mâsulei”. *Studia Iranica* 8 (2): 269-75.
- _____. 1979b. “Textes en tâleši de Mâsule”. *Studia Iranica* 8 (1): 36-66.
- Lecoq, P. 1989. “Les dialectes caspiens et les dialectes du nord-ouest de l’Iran”. In *Compendium linguarum Iranicarum*, edited by R. Schmitt, 296-312. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Lockwood, R.M. 2015. “A linguist-friendly machine translation system for low-resource languages”. MA dissertation. [Seattle]: University of Washington.
- Lockwood, R.M. 2017. “Machine parsing of Gilaki verbs with Fieldworks Language Explorer”, available at <https://software.sil.org>.
- MacKenzie, D.N. 1984 «HWYTN : Stance and existence». In *Middle Iranian studies: Proceedings of the international symposium organized by the katholieke universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th May 1982*, edited by W. Skalmowski and A. van Tongerloo, 45-56. Leuven: Peeters.
- _____. 1986. *A concise of Pahlavi dictionary*, repr. with corrections. London: Oxford University Press.
- Martinez, J, de Vaan, M. 2014. *Introduction to Avestan*. Leiden: Brill.
- Mar‘ashi, A. 1363 (1984). *Vāženāme-ye guyeš-e Gilaki-ye Rašt*. Rašt: Entešārāt-e Tā‘ati.
- Mayrhofer, M. 1989. “Vorgeschichte der iranischen Sprachen; Uriranisch”, edited by R. Schmitt, 4-24. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Mayrhofer, M. 1992-2001. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Miller, B.V. 1953. *Talyšskiĭ yazyk*. Moskva: Akademiya Nauk.
- Morgenstierne, G. 2003. *A new etymological vocabulary of Pashto*, edited by J. Elfenbein, D.N. MacKenzie and N. Sims-Williams. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Mowlāyi, Č. 1395 (2016). “Fe‘l dar guyeš-e Kalāsur”. *Zabān-e Fārsi va guyešhā-ye Irāni* 2 (1): 43-65.

- Mu'meni, F. 1373 (1994). “Barrasi-ye zabānšenāxti-ye guyešhā-ye dāmeneh-e šomāli-ye Alborz-e Markazi bā erā'e-ye aṭlas-e zabāni va moqāyese-ye ān bā guyešhā-ye hamsāye”. MA dissertation. Tehrān: Dānešgāh-e Tehrān.
- Nasri Ašrafi, J. 1381 (2002). *Farhang-e vāžegān-e Tabari*. Tehrān: Ehyā-ye Ketāb. 5 vols.
- Nosrati Siyāhmazgi, 'A. 1393 (2016). *Farhang-e Tāleši*. Rašt: Farhang-e Ilyā.
- Nowzād, F. 1381 (2002). *Gilā gəb*. Rašt: Entešārāt-e Dānešgāh-e Gilān.
- Nyberg, H.S. 1964-1974. *A manual of Pahlavi*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. 2 vols.
- Pahalina, T.N, Sokolova, V.S. 1957. “Gilyanskiĭ yazyk”. In *Sovremennyi Iran*, 75-82. Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR.
- Paul, D. 2011. “A comparative dialectal description of Iranian Taleshi”. PhD dissertation. Manchester: University of Manchester.
- Paul, L. 1998. “The position of Zazaki among West Iranian languages”. In *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies, held in Cambridge, 11th to 15th September 1995*, edited by N. Sims-Williams, 163-77. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Pirejko, L.A. 1976. *Talyšsko-russkij slovar'*. Moskva.
- Pourriyāhi, M. (1350) 1971. “Barrasi-ye guyeš-e Gilaki-e Rašt”. PhD dissertation. Tehrān: Dānešgāh-e Tehrān.
- Purhādi, M. 1397 (2018). *Zabān-e Gilaki*. Rašt: Farhang-e Ilyā.
- Rabino, H.-L. 1916-1917. “Les provinces caspiennes de la Perse: Le Guilān”. *Revue du monde musulman* 32: 1-499.
- Rahmani, M. 1985. “Ethnography of language change: An ethnolinguistic survey of the Gilaki language”. PhD dissertation. Norman: University of Oklahoma.
- Ranjbar, M., Rādmard, R. 1381 (2002). *Barrasi va tuwṣif-e guyeš-e Gāleši*. Rašt: Gilakān.
- Rastorgueva, V.S., Èdel'man, D.I. 1982. “Gilyanskiĭ, mazanderanskiĭ (s dyalektami šamerzadi i Velatru)”, in *Osnovy iranskogo yazykoznanija*, 3, 447-554. Moskva: Nauka.

- Rastorgueva, V.S., Kerimova, A.A., Mamedzade, A.K., Pirejko, L.A and Édel'man, D.I. 2012. *The Gilaki language*, translated by R. Lockwood. Uppsala: Coronet Books.
- Rawilson, H.C. 1840. "Notes on a journey from Tabriz, through Persian Kurdistan, to the ruins of Takht-i Soleiman, and from thence by Zenjan, and Tarom, to Gilan". *The journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 10: 1-64.
- Resāyi, A. 1385 (2005). "Guyeš-e Gilaki-ye Fumanāt". *Majalle-e zabān va adab* 30: 59-82.
- . 1384. "Guyeš-e Gilaki-ye Fumanāt". PhD dissertation, Tehrān: Dānešgāh-e 'Alāmme Ṭabāṭabāyi.
- Reżā'i Bāḡbidi, H. 1380 (2000). *Dastur-e zabān-e Pārti (Pahlavi-ye Aškāni)*. Tehrān: Našr-e Āṣār.
- Rezāyi, S. 1392. "Barrasi-ye sāxt-e fe'l dar guyeš-e Gilaki-ye Šārq-e Gilān (šahrestānhā-ye Lāhijān va Siyāhkal)". MA dissertation. Ardabil: Dānešgāh-e Moḥaqqeṣ-e Ardabili.
- Rezzadeh Langaroudi, R. 2001. "Gīlān vii. History in the 19th century". In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, edited by E. Yarshater, 10: 645-50. Costa Mesa: Mazda.
- Saburi, N.B. 1392 (2013). "Rišešenāsi-ye čand maṣdar-e Gilaki". *Zabān va guyešhā-ye Irāni* 2: 53-63.
- Saburi, N.B., Rowšān, B. 1394 (2015). *Fe'lhā-ye Gilaki: barrasi-ye taṭbiqi va rišešenāsi-ye Gilaki*. Rašt: Farhang-e Ilyā.
- Sabzalipur, J. 1391 (2012). *Barrasi-e taṭbiqi-e sāxt-e fe'l dar guyešhā-ye Tāti, Tāleši va Gilaki*. Gilān: Entešārāt-e Dānešgāh-e Gilān.
- Sadovski, V. 2017. "The lexicon of Iranian". In *Handbook of comparative and historical Indo-European linguistics: An international handbook of language comparison and the reconstruction of Indo-European*, 1, edited by M. Fritz, B. Joseph and J.S. Klein, 567-99. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- Sartippur, J. 1369 (1990). *Vizegihā-ye dasturi va farhang-e vāžehā-ye Gilaki*. Rašt: Našr-e Gilakān.
- Schmitt, R. 1989. *Compendium linguarum Iranicarum*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

- . 2014. *Wörterbuch der altpersischen Königsinschriften*. Wiesbaden: Reichtert.
- Schulze, W. 2000. *Northern Talyshi*. Munich: Lincom Europa.
- Seyed-Āqāyi Rezāyi, S.M., Hoseyni, A. 1393 (2014). “Vāmvāžehā-ye Rusi dar zabān-e Fārsi va zabānhā-ye Karāne-ye Žanubi-e Daryā-ye Māzandarān: Bā takye bar nām-e māhiyān-e Daryā-ye Mazandarān”. *Pažuhešhā-ye zabāsenāxti dar zabānhā-ye xāreji* 4 (1): 21-45.
- Šokri, G. 1385 (2006). *Guyeš-e Rāmsari*. Tehrān: Pažuhešgāh-e ‘Olum-e Ensāni.
- Sotude, M. 1332 (1916). *Amṣāl-e Gilaki*. Tehrān: Farhang-e Irānzamin.
- . 1340 (1954). *Farhang-e Gilaki*. Tehrān: Anjoman-e Irānšenāsi.
- Stilo, D.L. 1981. “The Tati language group in the sociolinguistic context of North-western Iran and Transcaucasia”. *Iranian Studies* 14 (3-4): 137-87.
- . 2001. “Gīlān x. Languages”. In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, edited by E. Yarshater, 10: 660-68. Costa Mesa: Mazda.
- . 2015. “The polygenetic origins of the Talyshi language”. In *Studies on Iran and the Caucasus: In honour of Garnik Asatrian*, edited by U. Bläsing, V. Arakelova and M. Weinreich, 411-53. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2018. “The Caspian region and South Azerbaijan: Caspian and Tatic”. In *The languages and linguistics of Western Asia: An areal perspective*, edited by G. Haig and G. Khan, 659-824. Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton.
- Steingass, F. 1988. *A comprehensive Persian-English dictionary*, 8th impr. London: Routledge.
- Tāheri, E., Hosseini Matak, E. 1396 (2017). “Vižegihā-ye āvāyi-ye šomāl-e ḡarbi dar Gilaki”. *Zabān-e Fārsi va guyešhā-ye Irāni*, 3: 147-61.
- Voegelin, C.F., Voegelin, F.M.R. 1987. *Classification and index of the world's languages*. New York: Elsevier.
- Völlmin, S. 2004. “Das Verbsystem des Gilaki: Dialekt von Rasht (Westgilaki)”, MA dissertation. Zürich: Universität Zürich.
- Windfuhr, G. 1989. “New West Iranian”. In *Compendium linguarum Iranicarum*, edited by R. Schmitt. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

- . 1996. “Dialectology”. In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, edited by E. Yarshater, 7: 362-70. Costa Mesa: Mazda.
- . 1998. «Eštēhārdī». In *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, edited by E. Yarshater, 8: 651-54. Costa Mesa: Mazda.
- . 2009. *The Iranian languages*. London: Routledge.
- Yarshater, E. 1959. “The dialects of Shahrud (Khalkal)”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 23: 52-68.
- . 1960. “The Tāti dialect of Kajal”. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 23: 275-86.
- . 1969. *A grammar of Southern Tati dialects*. Paris: Mouton.
- . 1996. “The Tāleshi of Asālem”. *Studia Iranica* 25 (1): 83-113.
- . 2005. “The Tāti dialect of Kalāsur”. In *Languages of Iran, past and present: Iranian studies in memoriam David Neil MacKenzie*, edited by D. Weber, 269-83. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2007. “The dialect of Karingān”. In *Iranian languages and texts from Iran and Turan, Ronald E Emmerick memorial volume*, edited by M. Macuch, M. Maggi and W. Sundermann, 443-62. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Yoshie, S. 1996. *Sāri dialect*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Yusefi Qorbāni, Š. 1391 (2012). “Peyvand-e vājegān-ye zabān-e Tāleši (gune-ye Māsāli) bā zabānhā-ye bāstān”. MA dissertation. Tehrān: Dānešgāh-e Āzād-e Es-lāmi.